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shall consider in all lights our funding system; and perhaps throw some new ones on that monster of modern policy, particularly as relative to trade; which is now become imminently endangered by the great extention of our national debt. The useful, and even the ornamental arts, shall constantly find in me a warm advocate and generous encourager, as far at least as wisdom can warrant indulgence to the latter. But in them I shall be ready to correct sor-did abuses and fashionable phrenzies; and never suffer ill-grounded partialities, in favour of particular practitioners, to mislead or impose upon public judgment and justice.

Nor shall I pay so ill a compliment to my fair readers as altogether to omit inspecting into their important concerns. As they are the loveliest part of the human species, it surely must be worthy of a patriot-writer's ambition to aim at making them, in all things, no less the most perfect of earthly beings. With which good view, I shall esteem it a delightful portion of my province, to endeavour at raising their general character above that confined sphere of action in which they are too generally thought to move; and shew that not only their wisdom and virtue, but even their taste, their fashions, their amusements, may be made conducive to national glory and welfare. Truth has, we know, deservedly a high rank in their estimation of things: and, therefore, as their darling test, I conceive they will be greatly pleased, with having all their opinions and actions candidly brought to the trial of it. I am, however, well aware, that a becoming delicacy in the sex, has made them universally adopt the maxim, that it is better to be flattered than treated abruptly: consequently, from an unlimited right, which I know they exercise of infallibly deciding, where sincerity concludes and flattery commences, it must greatly behove the *Herald*, to be sufficiently on his guard in all points of decorum with the ladies; a matter which, as it ought, shall ever engross a suitable share of his attention.

Having thus given a slight sketch of my general design, which I would fain persuade myself to believe must encounter universal approbation, little remains for enlarging on in this paper, more than to request the assistance of all who can inform the public of facts which they are interested in the knowledge of; who will endeavour a reformation in matters they essentially err in; or think it worthy of their labour to contribute letters or essays for their entertainment or instruction; assuring my kind correspondents, that all hints shall be thankfully acknowledged and carefully improved; while those who honour me with finished productions, may depend on seeing them treated with all the deference and regard they can deserve.

Being

Being thoroughly convinced, that on the usefulness only of a paper of this kind, its encouragement, nay even its very existence, must depend, I shall, of course, be careful to infuse into it, all the practical knowledge I am master of or can acquire; and as little as possible indulge the excursions of fancy, the perplexities of cavil, the dreams of imagination, or the abstruse disquisitions of science. I profess to write to all: and therefore it will be my aim and desire, by all to be clearly and readily understood; so that every pedantic affectation, either in matter, method or stile, I shall sedulously avoid in the prosecution of my undertaking; not only as unnecessary for salutary advice and wholesome reproof; but also as disfiguring ornaments in themselves, that serve but to stigmatize their users with the imputation either of a false or a vitiated taste.

Strength, order and simplicity constitute in writing as in building, the genuine sublime: and the revelations of truth, like a temple erected to her honour, should be free from all the tricks of art, elegantly noble, but plain.

We have seen *Mirrors* held up that reflected nothing: *Centinels* posted to no purpose: *Crab-trees* planted but to wither: *Humanists* presenting their opiate doses to nauseating stomachs in vain: *Tefts* and *Contests* have risen up, as the earth-born warriors of old from the dragon's teeth, but to vapour, maintain a short scuffle, and expire. And to what other cause can the miscarriages in their several attempts be imputed, than this single one, *The voice of truth was not found among them.*

But, with expectation of better success, under the banner of veracity, for an Herculean attack of the *Hydra fraud*, does the *Herald* now manfully insist himself: *truth* arming him with a sword of divine temperament; and *candour* presenting him with a buckler of sure proof for his defence. Thus equipt, he courageously enters the lists; and hopes he shall acquit himself with general approbation.



T H E
H E R A L D,
O R
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER II.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1757.

To be continued every SATURDAY.

A thousand horrid *Prodigies* foretold it.
A feeble *Government*, eluded *Laws*,
A factious *Populace*, luxurious *Nobles*,
And all the *Maladies* of sinking *States*.

JOHNSON.

THE ingenious author of the nervous lines I have chosen for my *Motto*, has marked in them the causes of the final overthrow of the greatest empire, that ever existed upon earth. In doing which, it cannot be doubted, his principal aim was to awaken attention, for observing the ruinous tendency of prevailing evils in his own country: answering therein the noblest ends of poetry, by endeavouring the conviction of error, and in giving salutary admonition to his readers.

That such causes, from their very nature, must produce such an effect, is what, I believe, no man of speculation will scruple to acknowledge;

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B

knowledge; and therefore it cannot but be deemed a laudable enquiry, as it certainly is an interesting one, whether our nation is infected to a dangerous degree, or not, with such fatal constitutional diseases.

Of the feebleness of government, there certainly requires no stronger evidence for proof, than that its operations are evidently influenced by fear, whether on too slight menaces of invasions from without, or from the outrage of discontent, of internal insurrections. There is no doubt but that to express extraordinary apprehensions implies guilt; and therefore an administration, that acts with a manifest fear of the people, will always be suspected of conscious iniquity. In a constitution like ours, the crown, in its executive province, should never act in awe of any subordinate part of legislative authority. It is necessary alike for the safety and happiness of the nation, that all legal prerogatives, as well as privileges, should operate with unbroken force in their full vigour. Whether there has happened any late instances of an arbitrary power exercised in defence of privilege which the crown ought not, or dares not assert in support of prerogative, my readers must determine: all that I shall presume to observe is, that if such practices should gain establishment, the liberty, happiness and prosperity of the people would be no less endangered thereby, nay perhaps much more so, than by equal stretches of regal authority. But, to come to safer discussions of the point, have we not, more than once, seen parties, nay even particular men, prescribing terms for their service to the government? and what is still more, have we not seen government reluctantly bending to a compliance with them, therein? In how many particulars, also, have we seen administrations, relinquish their points, nay even rescind their own acts, from an awe of the people? Whether those acts were unjustly pushed, or unreasonably opposed, is no point of present consideration; their being resolutely attempted, and timidly relinquished or revoked, are all the proofs that are requisite to exemplify an obvious debility of government.

That from a laxity of discipline in our economical management, there is too shameful an elusion of wholesome laws, is an evident and melancholy truth; of which but few general instances will be sufficient for conviction. Is it not notorious that the negligences and corruptions of inferior magistrates and peace-officers have suffered vices openly to rage in the lower classes of the people, to a degree not to be found in any other nation of Europe? Do not the perpetual abuses of the never-enough-to-be-valued blessing of liberty discover the most abandoned and dangerous licentiousness? Is the undermining propagation of popery under the restraint of those wise and salutary laws with which our provident fore-fathers prudently fenced the civil and religious rights of their country? Is there

not a want of all necessary and legal inspection into the channels of supply to our public markets, particularly of the metropolis, where forestallers and engrossers, in the articles of Fish and Fleish, have apparently reduced their oppressive practices into a regular and established system? and very lately in the article of bread, throughout the nation, was not a small natural want, if any at all, improved even to a degree of artificial famine? And are not notorious corruptions, perjuries and iniquitous partialities, practised with impunity in parliamentary elections; pregnant in their nature with every evil, and threatening, in their consequences, even the overthrow of our happy constitution?

That our populace is disposed to turbulent faction, requires no stronger proof than in the existing instance of their riotous opposition to the establishment of the Militia: an institution that, I may say, they even demanded of the legislature: being, no longer ago than last summer, clamorous almost to a degree of sedition for obtaining it. I have heard it urged indeed, and not without strong colour of reason, that the law wants amendments for its being effectually carried into execution: a misfortune that attends too many laws of late years promulgated. But I, however, appeal to all the narratives hitherto published, if the tumultuous obstructions it has met with have not been simply opposed to the institution in general, and not to any particular regulations or modifications of it: and therefore it is to be hoped that the warmest advocates for plebeian indulgence, will, in this point, resolve to give them up, by candidly owning that it was the duty of particulars, in a case more especially that so strongly regards their own safety, to have patiently submitted to the endurance of a few temporary inconveniences, till they could respectfully have applied for parliamentary relief: for till that is refused them in the proper channel of redress, the greatest legal liberty can warrant no people to resist, with violence, the execution of laws. I am, and ever will be, a warm advocate for the rights of mankind; but think it, however, no less necessary for the welfare of society that licentiousness should have its reasonable curb; being convinced that where a government, through injudicious lenity, suffers individuals with impunity to venture a wanton resistance of authority, anarchy must be the consequence of it: than which no evil can be more fatal to a nation. Other instances of the factiousness of our populace are to be found in their open scoffings at all discipline, religious as well as civil: their contempt of all order, frequent menace of all justice, and extreme promptitude to tumultuous risings from the slightest motives, and very often without the shadow of any rational ones whatever: evils that sap the very foundations of government; and which render all property, and even personal safety precarious.

Of the luxury of our nobles I need give no examples in proof: the glare of it is general, and beyond the powers of the most princely fortunes to sustain. I most heartily wish that I could say so enervating and destructive a vice was confined to their order: but, alas, it must be confess to rage through every rank of our people, even to the very dregs of them. The ostler, who said he could not do with less than eight pints of beer a day, is, in his sphere, as luxurious as the lord, whose household consumes as many dozen of claret. The evil, however, it must be confess, sprung from, and is supported by, the extravagances of the great; and with them correction must commence, or a reformation is never like to take place: the alternative to which can be no other than general beggary, with, probably, general slavery for its attendant. But these points I shall hereafter discuss more at large; the mere mention being only requisite for my present purpose. A too extensive nobility is a heavy burthen to any state; and an increasing one, the inseparable evil of all when on the decline; whose progress to ruin they greatly accelerate by the profusions that subject their order to mean, dishonourable and dangerous subservencies. If with their fortunes their passions, appetites, lives and posterities were to be annihilated, it would little import a people how fast their titled fools put a period to them all. But where honours are hereditary, and while existence continues, not only the cravings of nature, but also lusts and vanities will be importunate; and if not to be gratified by worthy means, will prompt the application of unworthy ones: and governments, like usurers, exact hard terms for their assistance to the necessitous. Little reading or observation is requisite to discover that in all countries where liberty has been sacrificed or independency lost, nothing has contributed more to the accomplishment of the evil, than the vices and wants of a luxurious and numerous nobility.

From the few proofs which I have exhibited, and the abundant convictions, within the reach of all mens observation, that they lead to, I hold myself sufficiently authorized to pronounce that the causes of national ruin are undeniably working their fatal effects among us: warnings of which have long enough been given: but, enslaved by insidious lusts, immersed in sordid pursuits, and hurried on by our promptitude to present gratification, we seal our ears to the remonstrances of reason, our eyes to the conviction of danger; and probably shall not awaken from our dream of security till our lot is become desperate and our condition irretrievable.

No nation was ever ruined but by wilful and perverse blindness. Was Athens subjected, or Rome enslaved, unwarned by their sages of the evils impending? What noble monuments are there yet existing of eloquent expostulation on the dangerous tendencies of their

their principles and practices! what laboured systems of policy wrote, and what vigorous efforts of patriotism made, to brace anew the nerves of government, and repel the inundations of overpowering enormities! But the maladies were too deeply rooted for the most powerful applications to effect their cure. Nations who had lost their virtue became regardless of the consequences of vice: intoxicated with the enjoyments of the present hour, they grew heedless of futurity; and revelled in imagined security till resistance was in vain.

What forcible and pathetic warnings of the miseries that were to befall them had not the perverse Jews, from their heavenly-inspired prophets! who in the discharge of their sacred missions were at best unattended to, and often, by a sensual and worldly-minded race, even scoffed at and impiously reviled. Nay, the Redeemer of mankind, the Son of God himself, with the evidence of miracles for the verification of his doctrine, saw his prophecies disregarded, and his precepts despised.

We are, therefore, not to wonder at the insensibility we behold in our own country, to the warnings of wisdom and the demonstrations of science, concerning the imminent danger to which we see every thing brought that is, or ought to be, dearly precious to a free people. I am not of that gloomy-minded tribe, who think all irretrievable already: being persuaded there are yet remains of virtue, vigour and means among us sufficient to recover us from our laps'd condition, if they are but timely and effectually applied: holding, with the *Estimator of the Manners and Principles of the Times*, the argument in-conclusive, and its concomitant resignation of spirit poor, that nations, like human bodies, proceed in the same irrevocable manner from infancy to maturity, from maturity to death. For, continues that sensible author, *the human body contains, in its very texture, the seeds of certain dissolution*—But in societies, of whatever kind, there seems no such necessary tendency to dissolution. Soon after, he observes that *states sunk in corruption and debility, have been brought back to the vigour of their first principles*; and is pleased to refer our correction to a time of necessity, or, as I suppose, of general distress. But in this point I must beg leave to profess myself of a different opinion: being persuaded that general distress, in a mix't government, is extremely liable to produce anarchy and confusion: in the operations of which, passion takes the place of reason, and makes the odds considerable on the side of its having a fatal rather than a salutary issue.

There never sure was a greater solecism in politics, than the assertion, that private vices are public benefits. If by public is meant an administration only, the argument, in a limited degree, may indeed be allowed to hold good. A state of vice and dissipation undoubtedly makes the circulation of riches swift: out of which temporary

temporary supplies may abundantly and with facility be raised. But even in this confined sense, the tendency of the principle is apparently so ruinous, that no minister, but a finished villain, would endeavour to avail himself of the use of it; as none can do so, but such as determine, at all events, to make the most of power, while they can keep it, for their families and dependants, quite regardless of all consequences whatever they may prove. The sagacious *Montesquieu*, with true wisdom, declares that free governments and nations have their strength in virtue; whose opinion is not only agreeable to right reason, but confirmed by all observation and experience. No state ever yet acquired power and eminence, but by the exertion of all social and heroic virtues: nor ever lost them but by the indulgence of effeminating follies and debilitating vices. In their ascent to greatness, every people are full of the love of liberty; they glow with patriot emulation and generous regard; practise self denial, abhor fraud, stimulate industry, are strong in their natural affections and nobly-simple in their manners. But in their decline from dignity, the opposite qualities have unlimited scope. A love of pleasure enfeebles and enslaves them: all become servile and selfish: public service is neglected, and public trusts are abused: present and partial gratifications are the only objects pursued: Particulars over-reach one another, and all eagerly endeavour at the plunder of the state: domestic happiness is disregarded, and the rights of posterity are sacrificed: friendship becomes treacherous, and all social intercourse degenerates into mere empty form, plundering design, or the pestilent confederacies of iniquity.

Whether *Mandeville*, therefore, or *Montesquieu* is the truest philosopher, let the people of Great Britain impartially determine. And if the system of the former is found to have impaired our security, let that of the latter be timely applied for its restoration: lest the prognostications in my motto are fulfilled, not only in the overthrow of our happy constitution but even in the subjugation of us to provincial misery: than which a greater curse cannot possibly befall any people. And if my readers should be abandoned enough to say, upon perusing this remonstrance, that it is a point which posterity must regard; we then may conclude ourselves in the last stage of ruinous insensibility, and prepare our own necks for the reception of the yoke.



T H E
H E R A L D,
O R
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER III.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1757.

To be continued every SATURDAY.

The exorbitant trade and wealth of England sufficiently account for its present effeminacy.

Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times.

HE author of the book I have taken my *Motto* from, throughout the third and concluding part of his performance, constantly couples exorbitant wealth with trade; and to their joint effects attributes the prevailing ruinous turns of our manners and principles, with the too-apparent, and by-all-acknowledged, wretched condition of our country.

He is pleased to declare himself a closet-observator, a retired speculative-man, as indeed, in many particulars, his production sufficiently shews him to be: but in nothing more than his attributing to trade, by which he evidently means our foreign commerce, the vast monied property of the nation, and its concomitants luxury, effeminacy, rapine and all the various evils that contribute to the endangering of our constitutional liberty and national independence.

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C

That

That commerce is the natural source of riches to a people, is a truth too evident to be controverted. That nations without mines of the precious metals of their own, can have no other way of acquiring them, but by plunder or traffic must be granted. That our abundant necessary natural-products, convenient situation, and national turn to industry, give us great commercial advantages over most other countries of Europe cannot be denied: and that we have immense riches in the hands of some particulars, and a general shew of wealth, throughout the kingdom, are admitted. From all which premises, it is no cause for wonder if a closet-speculator draws, with strong conviction of truth, this conclusion, that our exorbitance of wealth must be derived from an exorbitance of trade, because in the natural course of things it undeniably should be so.

However self-evident such deductions may seem, yet are they indubitably liable to fallacy, as in the progress of this enquiry will be shewn. Of a like nature are our opinions of the circumstances of Great-Britain: which certainly may appear in shew the reverse of what they are, as I beg leave to illustrate by a familiar example.

A man may be the possessor of a very great estate: his lands may be improvable; his tenants honest and industrious, and his yearly income immense. But he is heedless and profuse; his luxury is unbounded; his generosity immeasurable: he is cajolled by hangers-on, plundered by servants; is improvident in all things: his yearly income is found greatly insufficient for his yearly disbursements. Inattentive to consequences, he seeks temporary relief in anticipation; involves his circumstances; mortgages his farms; adds accumulating interest to increasing incumbrances; continues to lay himself under no restraint for money till the rent of his last acre becomes alienated; his creditors foreclose; and he finds himself, at once, irretrievably undone. The operations of these causes are exactly similar in public and private affairs: their effects may be different; and undoubtedly will be. For as in one case the debtor is first ruined, in the other, that must be infallibly the creditor's lot.

Thus from figure are we not always to judge of circumstances; nor from appearances to take realities for granted. Commerce was undoubtedly the first foundation of our paper-wealth: our paper-wealth is now destroying our commerce; and will inevitably become the first victim in her ruin. Our ingenious estimator therefore, however plausible in his system, and however right in his traces of the progress of corruption into our manners and principles, is essentially mistaken in his judgment of the governing cause to which he attributes those fatal effects. Which being a point of consequence for the nation to be set right in, I cannot, I think, impose upon myself a more laudable undertaking than to endeavour the exhibition of conviction thereon.

When

When, no longer ago than last spring, the government wanted to raise three millions and an half upon credit, for the service of the current year, two schemes for that purpose were, by their projectors, offered to the public, which were both of them embraced by particulars with such eagerness, that, it is said, there were actually subscribed and offered, almost instantly, to one and the other above nine millions. This set all unintelligent people agaze! and made thousands of them exultingly cry out—“Who says our nation “is in want of money? If the government wants twenty millions it is “evident they may have them.”

These appearances and assertions, I own, a good deal confounded me. From some practical knowledge I have in these matters, as well as from the convictions of reason, I was satisfied that the monied people of England, keep no such immense sums unappropriated or unemployed in their hands; that there could not be idle in the purses of particulars, twenty millions, nor ten, nor five, nor probably one: that the Government’s loan must principally be made them good in solid wealth: that there had been a yearly demand, at least in two preceding ones, for large additional supplies, which were engrafted into the national debt, and there locked up from farther operation: that such an aggregate stock, if found in the kingdom, could only arise from the ballance of commerce: that our commerce did not, nor could produce such a yearly encrease of wealth: and consequently, that there must be some extraordinary fallacy in the affair; uncomprehended by, and perhaps greatly ruinous to the community.

From such a train of leading convictions, I set myself seriously to consider what the sources could be of such abundant channels for the supply of government wants: imagining, at the same time, that through the traces of causes I might more clearly elucidate the tendency of effects. With this view, I endeavoured to avail myself of the opinions and informations of others. I made many collateral and some general enquiries of persons who I knew were interested and imagined intelligent in those matters. To my circumstantial questions I received many satisfactory answers: to my general ones never any at all. So very inattentive are people to things that it much concerns them to consider and know. However, the particulars I collected have assisted me in the investigation so effectually, that I hope to demonstrate our enormous wealth is not solid, nor the effect of enormous foreign trade; and that, notwithstanding its first foundation might have been laid in commercial gains, the superstructure has been chiefly raised and its yearly augmentations are now made from other, and those very dangerous, causes; infallibly destructive in their consequences. To the evident proving of which important points I appropriate this and my two following papers. And intend in some subsequent ones to produce instances sufficient to prove that our national trade

now

now is, and long has been greatly on the decline: that our late administrations are not with reason to be accused of having made it too much their object; having neither afforded it their attention or support: that many important regulations are essentially necessary to be made, and our general conduct with regard to it speedily altered, or that a great deal of the beneficial part which yet remains will infallibly be lost.

I shall dedicate the remainder of this paper to the taking of a slight survey of our traders: in my next I purpose to examine the general state of our commerce: and in the following one shall endeavour to develope the mysteries of our subscription-supplies, and discover the ruinous tendencies of them.

Bristol, Liverpoole, Hull and other rising ports, with respect to their trading inhabitants, may be deemed truely and genuinely commercial. This of London was once most eminently the same: now it has a mischievous mixture, principally in the first class of those who are generally deemed, but improperly denominated, merchants. All our court undertakers, who, if I may be indulged in a quibble, are preparing the funeral of public welfare and happiness, such as fund-mongers, loan-jobbers, contractors and remitters, and with them, most of the governors and directors of our great trading companies, however immense their dealings may be, deserve not the appellation of merchants. These, ministers call and affect to have thought such; being under their influence and ready to take the lead, to serve court purposes, in all the public operations of trade and traders, whether to adulterate administrations, carry their corrupt and partial points, stifle commercial complaints, or prevent their encountering constitutional embarrassments. Though some of these may occasionally deal for their millions in Change Alley, their undertakings are no ways conspicuous on the Royal Exchange; not is it but very rarely that they honour it with their company. In the same degree of eminence, for trade, I place Exchangers, Insurers, and Agents or Factors for our colonies and foreign factories, whose numbers are great, and whose importance but little.

The real merchants are those who carry on a trade of exports and imports, principally, if not entirely upon their own account. Of these there are many and considerable dealers in the metropolis: but few, if any, to the extent of her antient illustrious traders. It cannot now be remarked, as it was with propriety of genuine merchants in the days of Addison and Steele, that particular men negotiated businesses for more money in an hour, upon the Royal Exchange, than many of our kings, whose statues stand above them, had yearly circulated through their Exchequers: or that there were traffickers so eminent in general commerce, that let the wind blow from what quarter of the compass soever, they must be secure of its bringing some of their vessels into our ports.

The

The last of such giants in trade were the Shepherds, Wardes, Delme's, Houltons, and others their cotemporaries: those who succeeded them being, in comparison, but dwarfs and pygmies.

Nor do we see by mere merchandizing immense fortunes raised in our days. The foundations of some ample ones have, perhaps, been laid in trade, but their superstructures were in general raised by government engagements. We see all who are fortunate enough to make but moderate commercial acquisitions, retire from that tract for a swifter improvement of them by Jobbs. With this view we behold a great increase of mercantile members in a certain assembly; than whom, in general, none appear more pliant, and none, it is imagined, have weightier reasons for being so. In the mean time, our trafficking eminence has so conspicuously declined, that in many of our most staple commodities dealings have dropt from hand to hand, till, I am well informed, the very manufacturers themselves are become the principal exporters of them: no farther change being now left, but that which I fear is creeping on them, and, perhaps, faster than we are in general aware of, utter annihilation. I have been assured that the want of employment among our weavers, contributed not a little to the compleatting of marine regiments, and the manning of privateers. If so, war proves a lucky drain for people who might otherwise have endangered society from their desperation, or made a new species of hospitals absolutely requisite.

In the affecting meditation of so threatening a reverse of things, let me indulge melancholy by comparing, in one view, the sordid contraction with the glorious expansion of the mercantile character in London.

In the first stages of our spreading commerce, its happy influence, like that of morning rays, was clearing, refreshing, enlightening and invigorating to all. Sir Thomas Gresham rose even as a Sun in our northern hemisphere, animating to industry, art and science: strengthening, enriching, enabling his country! instead of achieving victories in foreign lands, to gratify the vain ambition or religious phrenzy of Kings (which never availed us in ought) with the waste of our national wealth, and the diminution of the kingdom's strength by the lavish slaughter of thousands of her subjects, the isolating genius of earlier era's, he laid the lasting foundations of superior greatness to the state, and of more rational bliss to the community. He transplanted from rival nations arts that strengthened government by an extending revenue and an encroaching people, in furnishing the latter with inexhaustible means, by peaceable industry, for existing; at the same time affording opportunities for the improvements of maritime skill and the foundation of naval might: a plenteous source of riches to the nation, her most respectable power as well as her safest, surest and most natural defence. We read that singly by his great skill and credit in exchange and money transactions,

transactions, he released the royal revenue from sapping and embarrassing mortgages to foreign states; thereby restoring the enfeebled nerves of government, and enabling the crown to operate with becoming dignity in the general concerns of Europe. His stately public-edifices, charitable foundations and scientific endowments, are other glorious demonstrations of the greatness of his mind and the noble qualities of his heart. From his generous and general regard they were worthily established; from our sordid partialities and shameful neglects they are now infamously abused.

Another mercantile character most eminently great was that of Mr. Sutton; who in the reign of Queen Elizabeth had a personal credit so extensive, and a soul capable of so patriot an exertion of it, that he protracted the equipment of the formidable Spanish armada for a whole year, and thereby gave his country time to arm herself for resisting the meditated invasion, by engrossing the capital of the bank of Genoa; on loans from which Philip depended for the completing of his armament: from the want of which timely succours his project was delayed, and probably afterwards defeated. Yet was this eminent service to the state, like the abovementioned one of Sir Thomas Gresham, so far from being done from lucrative views, that he is said to have suffered a considerable loss by the negotiations. Those were not days for iniquitous jobbs; merchants then acted upon generous and public-spirited principles; they were eminently beneficent to mankind; the affectionate servers, not the insatiable plunderers of their country:

Other instances might be furnished of illustrious particulars: as well as of a generous zeal that frequently influenced whole bodies of traders, and particularly those of London, to ample voluntary contributions and national enterprizes. Such as might shame, if a sense of shame was among them, the cormorants of Jonathan's and Garraway's, the devourers of turtle and the community.

Had our Estimator therefore, instead of supposing trade has been too much our object, pronounced wealth, however acquired, is too much our idol; and attributed to the extention of paper-property the corruptions of our manners and principles, as well as the ruinous situation of our public affairs, he had gone nearer by far to the truth than his present work has carried him. The genuine produce of trade is solid riches: of which we have certainly no super-abundance in the nation. It is artificial wealth only, with the iniquitous management of it, that at present disorders and in the issue, it is to be feared, will undo us.

THE
H E R A L D,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER IV.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1757.

To be continued every SATURDAY.

See where the balance lies. This is not a fictitious and imaginary computation.

TRENCHARD.


In pursuance of my design, I shall now take a slight but faithful survey of our national commerce, beginning with the empire of Russia. Mr. Hanway, and after him Mr. Postlethwayte, estimates the balance we pay to Moscow yearly at a million sterling. An amazing sum to give to a country that trades with us only upon her own terms, and mostly in commodities that we might as well be supplied with from our own plantations. We have, likewise, frequently of late had subsidiary treaties with her, which not a little enhanced so enormous a balance. Notwithstanding which, she holds our friendship in so light regard, that but very lately, while she was taking our money for the hire of her troops, she marched them in support of the opposite cause. By which means, principally, his Majesty's electoral dominions have been over-run, the liberties of the subordinate states of the empire endangered, if not entirely lost, and the balance of Europe, which within a century past has cost us hundreds of thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of money to support, is entirely overset, and our own independency put so much to the hazard, that, probably, nothing but a speedy rupture betwixt the three great powers at present leagued together can preserve it.

Mr. Hanway, possibly from a partial regard for the Russia trade or traders, has been pleased to consider our commercial treaty as an important point gained of that empire, principally for this single reason: because the Dutch afterwards tried and could not obtain the like. Why the Russians should give us the preference, many

VOL. I.

D

wife

wise reasons may be assigned: and why the Dutch should wish for such a treaty is sufficiently obvious. With regard to the Russians, it was certainly their interest to oblige a nation in so gainful a trade to themselves, who could, if we had been put upon it, have found a remedy in our own hands; which the Dutch had it not in their power to do; and therefore must deal with them at any rate. Besides, with a shew of obliging us for their own service, they knew they could at any time command both our purses and our power. The Dutch are not so complimentary with their fleets upon all occasions as we are disposed to be; nor so ready to make subsidiary treaties for troops not like to be employed. In short, they are not such dupes and bubbles on all occasions as we have been; but consider their own interest, and pursue it in preference to that of others; which of late has been rarely the practice of Great Britain. Why the Dutch should solicit such a treaty is easily to be accounted for. As, besides the necessity of getting commodities they cannot do without, or be supplied so well with from other places, it is well known to be a point of great importance to them to make their country as much as possible the mart for Baltic commodities to the southern states and kingdoms of Europe; which not only leaves an important profit in their ports, but also secures to their shipping the gain and employment of navigating them. The power and riches derived formerly to the United Provinces by being the intervening monopolizers of the Baltic commerce to and with the southern countries, is now well understood by all parties. It is therefore no wonder that the Dutch should be solicitous to preserve it, or that the powers of the North, and particularly Russia, should be willing to break through it, and become dealers directly with the countries that require their commodities: as more bidders at a market raise the prices of their exports; and more channels for conveyance give scope for extending their navigation. Thus, I hope, is Mr. Hanway's main reason, in support of that treaty, proved to be either a very indigested or a very partial one.

But, from the best informations that I have been able to obtain, it appears to me that our trade with Russia is carried on upon an extreme bad footing. Some of their material articles are engrossed by the Empress, who sets upon them just what prices she pleases. We besides give unreasonable credits for what we sell; and, what is most amazing, considerable advances for what we buy; and are moreover obliged to pay duties in imported Bullion. All of which is sure taking so subservient a part in a trade greatly beneficial to them, and disadvantageous to ourselves, as ought to induce us to use all possible means for getting out of it. Upon which subject I shall take the liberty greatly to enlarge in future papers; my present purpose requiring no more than to observe, that in so unnecessarily bad a trade there is no less than a million balance against us.

A very sensible pamphlet was published last year, entitled, "Some reflections on the trade between Great-Britain and Sweden," by a gentleman who had resided many years in the latter kingdom. Who from such good Authorities as their own custom-house books informs us, that the whole annual exports from Sweden, do not exceed the value of five hundred thousand pounds sterling; of which Great Britain and Ireland take of them to the value of three hundred thousand, which is one fifth more than is done by all the rest of Europe together. Yet have they of late years greatly raised the prices of their commodities upon us, and prohibited all ours except leather, which they could not possibly do without: however, that our deprivation may be compleat, they have established manufactures even of that article amongst them, having sent people over hither to steal the art, and employed emissaries to seduce workmen from hence to compleat the undertaking. My author farther observes, that there is an invincible hatred reigns among them against our nation, notwithstanding we have many times of late generously saved them from destruction. Possibly we are indebted for that odium of us to some German transactions; as may be reasonably imagined from an anecdote furnished by my above quoted author; which is, that in the year 1745, four or five hundred youths, many of them of the best families in Sweden, engaged themselves in the Pretender's service, and were only prevented by contrary winds from embarking for the Highlands of Scotland. Thus have we unnecessarily paid near three hundred thousand pounds a year balance to Sweden, have been of more service to them in trade and arms than all Europe besides, and have encountered plunder, hatred and contempt for requitals. But in the last session of parliament our legislature has wisely given their interest one wound, in farther favouring iron importations from our own colonies; and it is to be hoped will endeavour to deprive them of their whole commerce with us, as they certainly may do, and leave them for ever, with the contempt they deserve, to the support every way of their unnatural darlings the French.

In the same manner, and perhaps with proportionable loss, is our trade carried on with Koningberg, Dantzick, all other Ports within the Baltick, and Denmark. To which kingdom, in our Norway trade particularly, we pay a large balance, besides the Sound duty; which last, especially on a loosing commerce, is no inconsiderable object. Upon the whole, it surely must be greatly for our interest to lessen all our imports from the Baltick, in favour of North America, as much as possible; leaving our exports to force their way thither, which they infallibly will do as far as their prices secure them a preference, and beyond that no treaties or favours of ours whatever will obtain them a vent.

Our trade with Hamburg and all the other German ports, is allowed to be greatly against us; but to what amount it would be difficult with precision to ascertain; and the disadvantage is greatly enhanced by the large subsidies we are always paying to some of the

German

German states; which, though a political traffic, in a draft of general balance, must, by a trading state, be carried to her national account of profit and loss.

Whether in our exchange of commodities with Holland, the balance is for or against us in licit trade, would be a difficult point to determine. Mr. Postlethwayte is remarkably deficient in his account of our commerce with that country. Nor do I know of any author who is at all satisfactory thereon. Admitting their whole importations from us into the account (of which many are afterwards sent into other countries with the benefit to themselves of a profit and the charges thereon) it is generally apprehended the balance is considerably in our favour. But the article of illicit trade is undoubtedly immensely against us. And if we add thereto the profit made by their country's being the channel for our Northern negotiations, in which they are sure to make the most of exchanges, as well as bank Agio's, and gain at the same time commissions, brokages and charges on all Northern subsidies and balances, as well as on all extraordinary remittances we occasionally make to the continent; I say, putting all these articles into the scale of traffic, it doubtless makes the balance strongly preponderate on their side. But there are still others, and those very important particulars, to add. The very rich men among them are supposed, I had almost said known, to be very largely interested in our government loans and money businesses of all kinds. The subjects of Holland are also great proprietors in our stocks. By their gain on one of which kind of dealings, and the yearly interest we pay them on the other, they are eating into our very vitals in such a manner as I believe is not generally conceived; but which, if not speedily attended to, must have very mischievous effects.

The great balance we pay to France, is no less visible from the general courses of exchange, in peaceable times, with that kingdom, than from the abundant appearance of our coin amongst them, particularly on the coasts of their northern provinces. The balance of genuine mercantile traffic being very considerable on their side; it is a melancholy consideration how greatly that balance is enhanced by smuggling dealings, for articles of luxury to us in exchange for our bullion, and, what is even worse, our unmanufactured wool: which last article enables them to work up greater quantities of their own than they otherwise could do, and undermine us thereby in many of our staple commodities at foreign markets. To this destructive intercourse is to be added the egress of our fools thither, to glean up their vices, follies, fashions and frippery manufactures, to the discouragement of our own arts at home, and the disgracing of them in the eyes of all Europe: or, what is infamous as well as ridiculous, even during war with them, who are our natural hereditary enemies in policy as well as faith, we permit whole shoals of them to come over or remain here, to instruct

struct our people in their manners, religion and language, sell us their commodities, set us their fashions, serve us, seduce us, betray us! encouraging their industry thereby, with all our might, to the shameful suppression of our own: enriching them with our money to the enfeebling of our own government; and the burthening of ourselves with native poor from the loss of employment. Evils that loudly proclaim the madness of our nation, and which even clamour for speedy and effectual redress.

In Spain, our trade has gone gradually declining so much ever since the accession of the Bourbon race to that crown, that many eminent merchants think the balance, we now receive from them, little exceeds the value of the New England and Newfoundland salted-cod-fish, and the Irish provisions we supply them with; all of which they cannot do without; except also in times of dearth for our corn: but their demand for that is very rare to any considerable extent. The balance of trade appears against us in almost all of their ports except that of Cadiz. And there, if we consider the insignificant figure of our national factory, it cannot be supposed to be very consequentially in our favour. Two causes are to be assigned for this change. The first of which was the notorious partiality invariably shewn by Philip the fifth, for the interests of the country he was born in. The second, and incurable one, is their wise increase and improvements of their own manufactures. They now make and sell serviceable silks as cheap, or cheaper, than we can do handsome stuffs: and their woolen fabrick of all kinds they are yearly bringing to greater degrees of perfection. Therefore as our yearly increase of taxes must gradually enhance the price of labour, the demand for our woolen goods in Spain must proportionably decline: nay, perhaps, will even enable her to supplant us in our supply of them to Portugal; especially as their extensive frontiers make the practice of smuggling easy to both kingdoms: and they are not like to want encouragement while some of our manufactures pay, as I am well assured they do, a duty at the metropolis of no less than five and thirty *per Cent.*

Our trade with Portugal is the only one that is considerably beneficial to us of any in Europe. And in that kingdom we are daily loosing ground to France, and tamely suffering unreasonable and shameful embarrassments from a *Don Quixote* in commerce, who is doing great prejudice to the kingdom, and all who have any dealings with it. But with respect to that nation, I apprehend we greatly deceive ourselves in our estimate of the balance of trade. I have good reason to believe I am well informed concerning the quantity of bullion yearly imported into that kingdom from Brazil; and that it does not exceed upon an average, even including the silver got from Buenos Ayres by the way of Nova Colonia, two millions sterl. Now from Mercator's sketch of that nation's European commerce, which I am told has been approved of by knowing men on both fides of the water, it appears they have balances to pay out of that sum to almost every

every country of Europe; and great ones to Italy, Spain, Hamburg and the Baltick, as well as to us. So that allowing for what remains at home, and the separations made for all other countries, it surely must be greatly over-rating our proportion to calculate it at a quarter part of the whole, which is five hundred thousand pounds.

Of our Italian and Turkey trade, it is not requisite I say much. We certainly receive no balance directly from either, but consequentially we may from both, and particularly the latter, as the usefulness of many of the commodities we import from them is undeniably great. Our commerce with Barbary is too inconsiderable to require my enlarging upon it.

Our Guinea trade is undoubtedly valuable. Besides the serviceable importation of negroes into our colonies and many improveable commodities at home, they indisputably pay us a large balance in gold.

Our India dealings are immoderately against us, and an everlasting drain of our wealth. An estimate of the ruinous effects of this trade both to the nation and company was published about four years ago by a gentleman of evident knowledge in those matters. And it cannot be denied that, for our national consumption, most of their commodities are unnecessary, and many of them pernicious.

America is indeed our strong hold of commerce: has long been our great supporter, and must be our sole rescuer, if we are so fortunate as to escape the dangers with which we are threatened. From our plantations immense are the riches we derive; and vast are the additions to be made; if in the advancement of their interests we are wisely sedulous to promote our own: concerning which I shall be particularly explicative in the course of these publications.

From this slight survey of our national trade it is shewn, that by our Asian and European dealings we are losers, and that by those of Africa and America we gain. This may serve to shew where our interests are effectually to be pushed; but the inspection in this paper is limited to another view.

By the various and great commercial balances that we undeniably pay, and the few channels of actual supply that appear open to us, it is almost a matter of wonder how we preserve any bullion at all in the nation, or are able to save ourselves from sinking. Our incumbrances increase apace upon us, and it cannot, I think, be doubted that our stock of real money declines: the means of acquiring it evidently lessen, and the mischiefs a sudden-discovered want of it may occasion, are sufficiently obvious for comprehension.

If from the profits of our foreign trade, therefore, we do not grow rich, it is evidently no aggregate of national gain that fills our new created funds: and it is no less certain that with an encrease, or even upon their present footing, commerce is not long like to uphold them. But by what means the augmentation of our national debt is accomplished will be the enquiry of my following paper.

THE
HERALD,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;
NUMBER V.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

When they have wound up the cheat to the highest pitch that it can go; then, like rats, leave a falling house, and multitudes of people to be crushed by it.

TRENCHARD.

F our foreign trade, as I think I have shewn in my last paper, appears rather to be a losing than gainful one, it cannot be the source of our seeming national wealth; but, on the contrary, must insensibly drain off our gold and silver, and leave us rich only in paper, which is an imaginary wealth, a precarious possession to its owners, and a dangerous burthen to

the community.

My present enquiry is to be into the method of forming our aggregate funds; and, by tracing out their sources, to evince their tendencies to ruinous effects.

New funds are established upon new national taxes, which are appropriated by the legislature, for payment of the annual interest such loans are respectively stipulated to bear. These funds are commonly engrossed by contractors of influence and credit, who, with their auxiliary coadjutors, foreign and domestic, engage, for some allowed advantages, to make good in regulated payments to the government their entire value, taking upon themselves the hazard of re-disposing of them in smaller proportions, to such as will continue with the proprietorship. Of these last purchasers, who before the settled creditors of our nation, part are generally natives and the rest foreigners.

Of Natives, such are the last buyers, who save money out of their annual incomes arising from landed or money estates, or who ac-

quire it by any kind of traffic, or by public employments. Of the first of these the public has no farther to consider, than how fast great possessions are to be augmented by so facile an investiture of savings: by which the fortunes of some particulars, as might be instanced in a late eminent lady, may be made so immense, as to become an over-proportion of wealth in the hands of particulars, to the prejudice of circulation, and possibly even to the endangering of the state: an evil that some patriots long ago foresaw, and therefore thought an agrarian law salutarily convenient.

Government servants and dealers, by investing in the stocks so much of their incomes and gains as they do not spend, become another considerable body of national creditors.

Of traders, particulars may acquire great fortunes even in those branches of foreign commerce, which the nation most loses by. And domestic dealers accumulate wealth by buying and selling, as the industrious do by their knowledge, dexterity and labour.

These gradual gains and savings are generally made and always collected in the customary circulation of paper: which by a change in its own species is erected into a paper inheritance. From such sources do all our new national-proprietorships spring. It is an acquisition of paper from paper, almost without the intervention of gold; and is so far from being gained, by our foreign trade, of other nations, or an aggregate of solid property in our own, that it must endanger the former by encumbering the latter.

By like methods, it is to be feared, foreign proprietorships increase. Foreign dealers, by being allowed to share in the gains of the first contractors, will encourage and assist, will regulate and accomplish the transactions.

Thus, like the spendthrift, by adding interest to principal, and paying losses with mortgages, we are enabled to preserve appearances, have a shew of money in our pockets, look gay and live affluently, while in danger of bankruptcy, and even when reeling on the very brink of perdition.

The deplorable condition of our national circumstances has long been seen and allowed; and the fatal issue of our proceedings with regard to them foretold, by every man who had reason sufficient for forming a true judgement thereon, and honesty enough to induce him to make a right use of it. If prejudice, ease and convenience had not fascinating powers over the human mind, sure the delusions of fraud and imposture could never have influenced so supine an acquiescence in the minds of the public, to so destructive an evil as an increasing national debt; or so dozed into stupefaction, the possessors or acquirers of money, as to make them rely upon a security that cannot but be precarious; nay, that in its progress evidently destroying itself. Our clog of debt has long disabled us in time of war, from raising supplies within the year for the current service, or public demand; the consequence of which inability is always a considerable increase of the incumbrance; that increase adds to the deficiency of ability the following year; which deficiency again proportionably swells the quantity of augmented burthen. To what must these accumulating burthens and increasing necessities tend? Do they require curious calculations and laboured demonstrations to determine?

People indeed, from a disposition to sooth inclination and indulge enjoyment, embrace and propagate an opinion, artfully infused by the purveyors of their destruction, that our nation has great resources for salutary applications in times of imminent danger. To which I beg leave to answer, by asking this question: Why then do we not see some of them applied by way of prevention? Observation may convince any man that our late resources have in general been trifling; several of them ineffectual, and many of them pernicious. Will a wise man wait till his house is on fire, before he provides water and engines for preserving it? From a seeming fatality in human affairs, our reason is constantly the dupe of our passions and inclinations. In the ever-memorable year twenty-one, when popular phrenzy was fostering the famous South-sea scheme, wise men surely did, and could not but foresee the issue; and the folly and imagined convenience intangled many of them in the

cannot but observe, that all writers in favour of a national debt, or those who would reconcile us to an increase of it, endeavour artfully to mislead opinion by pursuing a wrong enquiry. They make it a main point to calculate how much encumbrance our land and labour are capable of sustaining, and therein aim at perplexing judgement with a thousand fallacies. Whereas the fair question to be put is, "if a nation, highly taxed, and whose revenues are alienated, can operate with

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"as much security, weight and vigour as she could if they were free?" To which every one would surely make this self-evident answer, "No more than an estate man can do who has large mortgages upon his inheritance, for the interests of which his principal rents are all signed over to his creditors; their demands being to be satisfied before he can apply any part of that income to his own particular uses; or family demands."

But I am so far from apprehending we have great resources, that I am clearly of opinion they lessen with us every day, though perhaps imperceptibly to general observation; owing to our paper currency's being so much the medium of traffic at home, and the great shew of wealth among us in the same kind of property. Nothing is so delusive as artificial money: it may cover the insensible draft from us of all our real cash, and entirely deceive us in the estimate of our circumstances and our commerce. How are we satisfied, for example, at present with regard to the quantity of bullion actually in the kingdom? We implicitly assent to reports; and take appearances for certainties that may dangerously ensnare us. Gold and silver coins are only used for change and in small dealings, and what stocks of them may be treasured up is extremely doubtful and uncertain.

Nor is the common moderate price of gold any surer criterion for judging. Nothing but the apparent want of it can enhance its value; and our paper circulation makes the use of it in money exceedingly limited. Every trader appears in good circumstances while his notes pass currently in lieu of cash. But every trader who issues notes beyond his abilities to answer, however by shifts he may save himself for a time, must in the end be ruined, and injure the people whose confidence in his solidity gave him credit.

I am entirely of the ingenious Mr. Hume's opinion, that our natural productions and national turn to industry, will infallibly procure us a large portion of the riches of Europe, while a fair scope is given to their infallible operations for that purpose. But he is of opinion, and all wise men I think must close with him in it, that our artificial wealth repels the flux of that which is solid, and surely in its consequences must lessen the very channels of supply.

Nor can we have a surer sign of the decline of commerce, than an evident decrease of our people. This token we are indubitably allowed to have: and sure a glaring additional one is to be added in the great encrease of parish charges throughout the kingdom, for the assistance of such as want the means of supporting themselves.

All our manufacturing towns towards the West have gone declining for near a century past. The true causes of which have not perhaps been sufficiently attended to. The main one, however, has been the loss of our broad-cloth exportations, particularly for Portugal, Spain, and Turkey: which countries have, of late years, been supplied with that commodity mostly by France and Holland. And France is now beating

beating us out of our stuff trade at almost every foreign market. It is true our manufactories northward have encreased: but that encrease is not in proportion to what we have lost in the West; and is quite independent of it. Nor are we secure of not being rivalled even in those inferior fabricks. France has already pushed at our trade in long bays at Portugal; and though she miscarried in her first attempt, in a second she may succeed, by means of securing a better supply of Irish wool. And so for our Yorkshire cloths, for an European sale, they certainly may be reckoned already to have past their meridian. It is well known that in most of the northern states they have erected similar manufactories of their own; and in Spain and Portugal, they are endeavouring to undermine the consumption of them, by assiduously encouraging native fabricks that entirely answer their purpose.

And let it be observed, that whatever advantages our present superiority at sea may give us of the French in trade, they can but be temporary and during the war. Experience has often shewn us, that however ruined their commerce has been for a time, peace has always speedily restored it to them again. They rise from poverty by industry and the cheapness of labour; which, with our luxury and increasing national incumbrances, give them dangerous advantages over us.

When a smaller number of people must furnish an encrease of supplies, the means of doing it, in the prices of their labour, must be proportionably augmented. It is therefore dangerous for a trading nation to be under a necessity of making exorbitant levies: the very taxes on luxury ultimately affect industry, if not extremely judiciously laid. And the affairs of our nation have long been so delicately circumstanced, that not only luxury, but even destructive vices also have been forced to be tolerated, I may even say encouraged, from necessity, for support of the revenue.

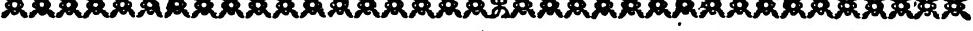
Thus are our luxury and wealth no consequences of enormous trade: but the ruin of our trade, on the contrary, is like to be the consequence of our luxury and enormous artificial wealth: and therefore Mr. Hume pronounced very wisely in saying, "*either the nation must destroy public credit, or public credit will destroy the nation.*"

Nor should mistaken judgements attribute to commerce the mischiefs of its enemy corruption: to the baleful attacks of which evil many things that are the most valuable are the most liable. Trade is the genuine promoter of industry, plenty, peace and strength: she loves and creates respect, but is sure to suffer by violence. If the blessings she produces have pernicious applications and consequences, the mischiefs should be attributed to wicked minds, who make instruments, good in themselves, become bad ones. Trade first gave ministers credit; which they afterwards abused for their own advantages. They found it two ways for their interest to be continually enlarging the public revenue, and they artfully augmented the public debt for a pretence to do it. The first of these was, from a creation of new taxes to extend their

their own influence, by finding profitable employments for a greater number of corrupt tools and dependents. The other was, by increasing the flux of revenues to obtain more opportunities for extracting plunder to enrich themselves, their relations and followers. And whilst they indulged even the most wanton freedom with public money, they found in corruption a security from justice, by bribing the representatives of the people to levy on their constituents whatever sums they pleased to demand, and afterwards accept such accounts of the applications thereof as they thought proper to produce.

Such, in our Nation, have been the villainous refinements into evils of the greatest blessings a country could possess. Practices that should make the inventors of them abhorrent even in memory. And if among our living possessors or pursuers of power, there remain any so shameless as to avow, and be the advocates of, such systematical wickedness; who, under pretence of supporting the power of the crown, would seize into the hands of a faction all prerogatives, privileges, rights and properties; it is to be hoped, for the dignity of our sovereign and the safety and welfare of his people, that they will receive the rewards due to such flagitious offences in infamy and overthrow, in axes and in halters.

Upon the whole: if we would escape devouring, we must cautiously tread backwards from the den of the dragon. However willing we are inclined to be to contribute to our own deception, obstinately must we shut our eyes to avoid seeing the ruin to which we are advancing. Reason has long demonstrated what experience now confirms: "that a gradual increase of our debts and taxes will as gradually diminish commerce." And it follows, in the progression of sure consequences, "that the declension of our commerce destroys the security of our national debt:" An essential wounding of the former must annihilate the latter.



* * * By desire, this paper will be published in future, on Thursdays instead of Saturdays, and accordingly Numb. 6. will be published on Thursday next.

THE
H E R A L D,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER VI.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

Sayest thou (but they are vain words) I have counsel and strength
for War? ISAIAH.

Wherefore have I seen them dismayed, and turned away back?
JEREMIAH.

It shall be a reproach and a taunt, an instruction and an astonishment
unto the nations that are round about thee.—The merchants
among the people shall hiss at thee. EZEKIEL.

A length our impenetrable secret hath unfolded itself:
the mountain is delivered, not of a mouse, but an ab-
ortive gnat: and the lavishly-paying and highly-ex-
pecting people of Britain have reason thereon to cry
out, in the words of the holy prophet, “ *we are con-
founded—shame bathe covered our faces.*”

A fleet of eighty-two sail, in which were eighteen
capital ships, all well-manned and provided; with ten
compleat regiments and other detached companies, besides marines; a
power (with less than which our brave ancestors have, heretofore, ra-
vaged the whole kingdom of *France*) so adequate to a great undertaking,
to go forth; as they did, with shouts and acclamations, only to sneak
back again with the infamy of impotence, the disgrace of dastardly! in
not daring to hazard a manly attempt for their own glory, or a patriot
service to their king and country.

O melancholy, mortifying reflexion! O Britain! fallen from thy emi-
nence of renown, how dost thou grovel in dishonour! how accommo-
date thyself to ignominy! how art thou hardened against reproach, and
to every feeling and sense of shame!

VOL. I.

F

Well,

Well, and are we to have no enquiries into the causes of these disgraces? Are the suffering people to have no kind of satisfaction for such a waste of their wealth, such a sacrifice of their reputation? Shall we have no propitiatory hanging or shooting? no one worthless victim offered at her shrine, to the manes of our departed national honour? Stripped as we are of our money, must we be defrauded of justice also? of honest, let me say amiable, vengeance? then will all be speedily at an end with us indeed. Be it as we have been, and baffled in every quarter; it is time, my good countrymen, you should be apprized of your condition; deceive yourselves no longer. A nation that is every way unable to annoy our enemy, shews in that wretched debility, an utter incapacity of defending herself.

But let us reason a little on this affair, from such accounts of it, as have hitherto come to our knowledge. In an expedition that was so cautiously concealed, for the wise purpose of taking our enemy by surprise, a celerity of execution was sure highly expedient. Why then, with a fair wind and in a clear night, was there a loss suffered of eight hours sailing, by making the whole fleet *lay to* at above twenty leagues distance from the land? by the losing of which time the wind afterwards was lost; so that they did not reach the island of Aix till the twenty-third of September, which otherwise they might probably have got to by the twentieth: on which last-mentioned day, effectually to compleat a blunder, we are told a man of war of the enemy's was suffered to escape from the midst of our fleet, for want of timely chace-signals, and carry the alarm to their coasts.

Nor do I think reason can well account for the following suspension of the grand design, by attacking a little, weak, barren, insignificant island, that could in no shape annoy us in the execution of our main enterprize; and which, if a work worth performing, ought surely to have been made a posterior undertaking. But, alas, it was fated to be our only one: we took it, and demolished an untenable fortification: plundered grapes and a poor priest's little library: gave our men an opportunity for getting drunk and committing sacrilege: and moreover, to display a christian want of decency, by turning sacred and consecrated vestments into mumming habits. Such was the sum total of glory achieved by this wonderful expedition. For the honourable Mr. Howe's courage wanted not the new testimonial he has had an opportunity of giving, for the establishment of his marine character; and however unequal to his attack, the power of opposition was afterwards found, it must be acknowledged that he engaged like a brave officer, on the supposition of encountering a more vigorous resistance.

Flushed with this victory and the island's whole stock of wine, our troops re-embarked; and then, in full view of the coast, our valiant chieftains incessantly busied themselves, for five successive days, in HOLDING COUNCILS OF WAR: while the marine were assiduously employed in sounding every foot of water around them. At length, on

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the twenty-eighth, out came the general order for disembarking at midnight, with the ships at least four miles distant from land. As such fair and generous warning had been given, the shore, we are told, appeared one continued battery; and the visible country seemed covered with crowds, it may be supposed of men, women and children, to a formidable number; though probably the greatest part of them were only assembled to gaze at the mighty armament, their appearance contributed to terrify. However, though there were allowed circumstances enough to dishearten the troops, particularly that of the great distance of the ships from the beach, whereby the first-landed parties must have continued long unsustained, and, if overborne by numbers, without any means of retreat; yet were the soldiers, we are informed, so determined in their courage, that the first division of them got ready, and were in the boats above an hour before the appointed time; where they (the night being very cold and the surf high) continued thumping each other, and beating against the sides of the ships, for the space of *four hours*: after the expiration of which, they were surprized with a concise command to retire to their respective vessels till farther orders. The two following days were employed in finishing the demolition of the ruined fortification on the island of Aix: in doing which, that blood might be spilt in the enterprise, we blew up some of our own soldiers with the works. Then our invincible armada triumphantly returned; bringing home with them an half-starved garrison, of near five hundred prisoners of war, for their congratulating country to gaze at, on their arrival, and afterwards to maintain.

Thus finished the tremendous expedition, which for several preceding months had excited the attention of all Europe; and which had made our nation happy in the hopes of a speedy termination of the war by an honourable peace, influenced by our striking a terror into France, from a desolation of her ports and marine. Now we were expected to take Belisle, and thereby effectually curb the naval operations of our enemy, without future hazard to ourselves. Anon, Martinico was assuredly to become our victim; or Minorca would infallibly be retaken. One day news arrived, at the tarr end of the metropolis, that all the enemy's ships were on fire in the harbour of Brest: and, on the morrow, news was reported from court, of our having mastered Rochefort, took four men of war afloat; and, with all their naval stores, burnt eight unfinished ones on their stocks. But, alas, laurels like those formerly won on the plains of Cressy, Poictiers and Agencourt, are not ornaments suited to modern brows. It is our misfortune, ever to wake from our delusive dreams of glory, to a consciousness of imbecility, and the solid possession of shame.

What, in the name of astonishment, could the orders have been that this great and expensive armament carried out with them? Were all operations confined to one single spot? Had they no provisional, no discretionary authority for serviceable action any where? Had the planners

of the scheme no preeallianc^t, forecast? Or were the executors of it known to have so little wisdom, as not to have their opinions conditionally for any undertaking to be relied on? If the attack of Rochefort was found impracticable, which letters since received from France represent not to have been the case, could no hen-roost on any part of the continent be robbed? No fortification be cannibalised? No town bombarded? Nor island be taken, ravaged, or even landed upon, except poor despicable Aix? though but merely to save appearances, and preserve our councils and arms from sullying ignominy and grating contempt.

No mean and unworthy concessions, no submissions to insult; no abortive projects, no unsuccessful attempts, no over-cautious half-engagements, no cowardly retreats, have, of a long time, been wanting to make us a bye-word among the nations; and our countrymen, where-soever dispersed, the dejected laughing-stocks of every people with whom they converse. What, let me ask, have we once been? and what are we now become? Who can make the disgraceful comparison of us with our forefathers without blushing? Our brave ancestors never went forth but to conquer; we, never but to miscarry or be defeated! Nor need we rummage the records of antiquity to take shame to ourselves, the actions of our very fathers sufficiently reproach our degeneracy.

Who needs be informed of the stubborn sea-engagements between us and the Dutch, no longer ago than in the reign of Charles the second? When battles were fought till both fleets were disabled, which alike lay to, to refit, and then recommenced the engagement. The circumambient air seemed on fire! and the very waters they floated upon appeared tinged with blood. And what were our land-engagements, even so late as those fought by the duke of Marlborough and his generals, but every one to obtain a compleat, a glorious victory! Can we assign the causes of the great changes that we behold in ourselves? Or shall we ask and believe them from our foes? Alas, the account published of our last impotent expedition, verifies the assertion marshal Belisle is said to have made when among us; which was, that *if their officers by land and sea had our men to command, they would speedily subdue the whole world.*

And yet, as no nation or order, any more than a particular man in all things, can be entirely corrupted, we have still the comfortable boast to make, that we are not quite without signal exceptions to the general accusation. The glory Braddock—and—lost, we have seen a Clive and a Johnson most gallantly atchieve, even without being regularly trained in the military art; and among us, indeed, to the effectual and glaring reproach of it. But their education, like their scenes of action, were far removed from our schools of dangling idleness, mean rapine, and effeminating luxury. Inherent courage, genius and honour, with assiduous application, were their able instructors and all-sufficient counsellors: by them they were inspired and perfected; and with them they have succeeded.

succeeded. The enterprize of our admirals Watson and Pocock, was planned by their own prudence, and performed by their valour; the undertaking was their own, as they well knew the honour or disgrace of it must prove. Perhaps if they had been embarrassed with heterogeneous conjunctures, cramp'd by injudicious regulations, their attempt might have miscarried as others have done; but landmen and seamen were cordial inconcerting, and unanimous in executing; as equally brave men are generally disposed to be: hence were their operations safe and effectual; and the event, as it ought, has proved honourable to all. Nor doubt I but we have many other officers and commanders, both in the land and sea service, who would as ably acquit themselves in as important undertakings; and I heartily wish they were employed in such but as for those who once shamefully miscarry, if they are a second time trusted, I think their recommenders should be made answerable for their conduct. Nor ought the plea of misfortune, even without absolute proof of their guilt, ignorance or carelessness in duty, ever be attended to in their favour. The all-conquering Romans held it a maxim of sound policy, never to employ unfortunate leaders: and many wise nations have since benefitted from their example. And if we duly weigh the good or ill effects of strong prepossession, in the minds of the people for or against the men they are destined to fight under, it must be deemed an object worthy of invariable regard. If, therefore, to treachery our miscarriages are not to be imputed, at the door of partiality, the iniquitous parent of them, there can be no manner of doubt that they should be laid.

How powerful and expensive have been the armaments, which we have this year sent forth, and how ineffectual the service of them all. With a vast land and sea force in North America, nothing has been done. And with the odds of twenty inhabitants to one against the French on that continent, our forts are taken, the out-settlements of our colonies continually ravaged, and the whole body of every one of them kept in perpetual terror and alarm! That this can be owing to any other cause than a superior wisdom in directing or conducting the military operations of our enemies, is impossible. Either our estimates of the power of France in those parts are erroneous, or there must be a miserable defect of abilities in those, who have the management of our own. It is incredible, that the French should have kept strong garrisons in Cape-Breton and the rest of their forts, and marched so large an army to the attack of fort William-Henry, which they have taken from us and destroyed without leaving Quebec so ill defended, as to have rendered it an easy conquest, for the great force lord Loudon and admiral Holbourn had assembled at Halifax to no purpose. Were their operations limited to a single object likewise? and could no stratagem be laid for forcing the foe to an action, or suffering the loss of some important possession? It is impossible to allow: the most implicit and resigned faith can never assent to it.

In the Mediterranean, if our great fleet has done no signal service, the reasonable cause to be assigned perhaps is, that none such could be expected from it.

Thus, which ever way our unhappy nation looks, the prospect to be encountered is melancholy and afflicting: Our arms are either inactive or unsuccessful every where. His Majesty's foreign dominions have been over-run, and a bridle may thereby, perhaps, be put into our mouths. Our good allies, whom we have been beggaring ourselves for an age past to bribe into friendship for us, are all now turned against us, or are ruined. We have but one active ally left, and, if possible, he is in a worse plight than ourselves. The neutral powers, as they affect to call themselves, who are looking on, are said to restrain us in some operations: which, if so, is like tying up our hands while our enemy is buffeting us. All in general are plucking at our commerce, from whence our strength must be derived; and we under a necessity of favouring their schemes by yearly burthening it more, for increasing supplies. In such a deplorable situation, one circumstance of consolation only presents itself to great minds, which is, that a whole cargo of Italian singers, fiddlers and dancers, are all, just now, safely and happily arrived.

Factions in our colonies, and divisions at home: all eager, from illustrious example, to plunder the public; and the public in no condition to be any longer plundered by any of them. What is to be said, what can be done for our extrication from dangers and difficulties? To be supine and resigned, is immediately to sacrifice all our rights, independency, ourselves and our posterity. What therefore our courage and resolution cannot accomplish, we must rouse ourselves with the efforts of despair to achieve; or every thing we held precious, or should deem valuable, is gone. Let pensioners be then detested, fools despised, plunderers made to disgorge their booty, and cowards be publicly hooted at and punished. Let us be rigorous in the exaction of justice on our betrayers; and a farther satisfaction required for this last and greatest dishonour that has yet been brought upon our nation, than that of so shameful a tale's being wrought into a lamentable ditty, and sung about our streets, as it already is, to the scurvy tune of doodle, doodle, doo.

THE
HERALD,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER VII.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

—Fear, admitted into public counsels,
Betrays like treason.

ADDISON.

To the HERALD, &c.

SIR,

BY a well-judged publication of the dispatch, sent by the Viper sloop of war, to our commanders in chief of the forces by sea and land, employed in the late inglorious expedition to the coast of France, our patriot-statesman has effectually freed his character and conduct from all insinuating doubts, and from every imputation of error or guilt, that diffidence, jealousy or malice could wantonly inspire or insidiously suggest: and while the wisdom and purity of his majesty's counsels, with regard to this interesting and important undertaking, have been so satisfactorily elucidated, equal candour towards the public, and those with whom it now remains to account for the miscarriage of this projected annoyance of our national enemies, has been shewn: no prepossessions of guilt having, by the prostitute dependents on power, been artfully and industriously infused, nor any cunning palliatives officially offered to deaden the force of accusation, and rescue delinquents, if any such should be discovered, from national prosecution, and the deliberately-executing sword of calm and impartial justice.

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In which manner will conscious innocence and unblemished integrity ever proceed? Wisdom and honour never seek any other asylum, nor can have a surer defence, than in the incontrovertible revelations of truth. This is a test, which honest men readily and resignedly submit their counsels and conduct to the trial of, and with regard to others, make reason, assisted by knowledge and fair information, their cool and unerring deciders in all things. Passion and prejudice, ever sure to inflame our imaginations and disorder our intellects, - are bad advisers and worse determiners of any points: they even pervert the clear evidence of facts, prompt an eager gratification of outragious desires, and whom they prevail upon us to hate, they ferociously inspire us to destroy. -

Honourable had it been for the late ministry and the nation, and perhaps fatal in a far less degree to the unfortunate admiral Byng, if in his evil hour the same spirit of candour had been allowed to operate in his accusers; or rather in those who found it necessary to overcharge his name with opprobrium, that it might thereby attract all the venom of public indignation, and give them an opportunity to skulk into shelter from the storm, which their own misconduct had most contributed to raise. He was made to pay, at the hard price of life and reputation, for the iniquities of many: was the scape-goat, the sin offering for all: and therein a precedent was established, that may entangle future judgments in like cases: for sure it never can be forgotten, that his judges acquitted him unanimously of delay and cowardice; and sentenced him to die only for not doing all that was in his power to have performed: without making any allowance for error of judgment, or admitting into consideration, whether if he had done more than he did, the service purposed or pretended from his expedition, could have been fully effected or not.

And here, Mr. *Tell-Truth*, permit me to inform you, and by your means the public, that however particulars in this country, and even great bodies, decided, all foreign courts and nations thought our proceedings, with regard to that commander, extremely harsh and rigorous. The armament he conducted was, to my certain knowledge, by them pronounced, long before its arrival at the destined scene of action, inadequate to the task it was allotted to perform. And how much more must it have been so, had it not been reinforced by Mr. Edgcumbe's little squadron? Which that it would be, our ministers had certainly no right to rely upon; as that it was, was entirely owing to an oversight of the French commanders. In such unprejudiced judgments, likewise, the want of hospital and fire-ships was allowed to have weight; and that a scanty fleet was sent on so distant and important a duty without them, is no ways apologized for in such minds, by considerations of the menaced invasion at that time in flat-bottomed boats, which were never built; and, which it would be over-rating French folly greatly to suppose, were ever seriously thought of. However, with an equal, if not superior, and a better sailing fleet than his own, under many allowed disadvantages, Mr.

Byng

Byng did actually engage; and, by driving the enemy from the scene of action, must be allowed fairly to have been their conqueror. He kept his station afterwards some time: and for not landing his succours on Minorca, as well as for returning to Gibraltar, had the unanimous opinion of a council of war. Yet was his conduct in every point with inveteracy arraigned: it was both courtly and popular to condemn him in all things: he was pronounced a dishonourer of our arms, and the cowardly sacrificer of a-national possession. Judges, who by their very sentence appeared over-awed, condemned him to death; while they made the peace of their own consciences their plea, for the most earnest recommendations of him to mercy. Yet neither that general recommendation, the future declared compunctions of mind of particular the strong intercessions of the noble family he was a branch of; nor the regard due to the fame and services of a glorious father, could avail him in the least. He suffered with an apparent dignity of mind, that must honour him in the opinion of posterity; bearing down unto death the burthenous offences of those, who made a merit of his sufferings to re-ingratiate themselves with the people.

With so recent an example of the severity of public justice, inflicted on an officer of the highest rank and of a noble family, in whose cause so many alleviating circumstances appeared, what may not the public think they have a right to require, with regard to those whose offence seem still more flagrant, and whose excuses, it is at least suspected, will be found far less weighty? Can any ill-grounded opinion of their counsels of war be received as exculpatory, which was allowed no force whatever in the defence of the execrated, sentenced, unpardoned and executed admiral? Surely it never can: the rigour of his sentence has made national justice inexorable.

As his majesty's ministers have satisfactorily purged themselves, from all imputations of having any way contributed to our late signal disgrace, it remains with our commanders now to be answerable to their king and country, for having suffered it to happen. The first charge of guilt in them is, an incomprehensible delay in their proceedings: and the second, their not ever attempting to execute the enterprize they were expressly sent to perform; when for the accomplishment thereof they had so sufficient a force, with (by all subaltern accounts, as well as by intelligence received, since from the very enemy) every way, also, a favourable an opportunity.

Far be it from me to pre-judge any person or party on points, that are preciously interesting to life or reputation: and having always highly disapproved of the clamour, artificially raised against the man, who was so very lately sacrificed to public prejudice, I pleasurable repeat my commendations of the temperate conduct of those at present in power, whose wisdom or integrity were obnoxious to suspicion on this occasion, for contenting themselves with a simple, though undeniable vindication of their own proceedings: leaving to others a fair opening for the publication

ation of their honour, and, at the same time, to justice an uninfluenced scope for the legal conviction of their guilt.

National glory, power and welfare, are sacred trusts in the hands of particulars: which all who venture to accept, should hold themselves highly accountable for the rash or insufficient discharge of. Dangerous and disgraceful negligences or omissions therein, are no less culpable than active errors or misdoings, and are equally punishable for their consequences. But for the judgment of a free people, it is ever safer to deviate from prudence on the side of vigour than on that of caution. Valour commonly carries with it a prepossessionary excuse, even for actions of temerity: while the bare suspicion only of fear, instantly engenders in the public mind a contempt, which speedily matures into oblique hatred.

Prudence is allowed to hold the first rank among the cardinal virtues. Yet, like every other, when indulged to excess, it degenerates into a vice. In the due temperament and full exertion of all the great qualities of mind and heart together, the truly noble character is with propriety made to consist. But of such there are few examples: nay, I may safely assert, there never was any man otherwise than comparatively great; absolute perfection belongs not to human nature. Nor are the social virtues so harmoniously disposed, as to admit of equal sway among them another. They all aim at dominion; are partial in their alliances; and by their single or congenial predominacy, become peculiarly characteristic to men. Thus prudence and justice essentially ornament civil rule; valour and fortitude the military. And whoever impartially scrutinizes the records of heroism, will find hazard has been ever the genuine parent of glory. By the degrees of dangers encountered, and the numbers of difficulties surmounted in military achievements, through ages and in all nations, the measures of merit and reputation have been estimated. Over-caution, therefore, is a disgraceful quality in the leaders of armies: and if admitted into their councils operates like fear, which it is certainly a-kin to, and traitorously betrays them into debility, danger and disgrace.

Had the heroes of ancient or modern nations trusted nothing to fortune or resolution, but scrupulously weighed every enterprize in the scale of prudence before they ventured to put it in execution, they never could have been so remarkably the objects of our admiration. Ardor and intrepidity often led them into perils, from which fortitude and valour were exerted to extricate them. Boldly to risque danger is the true mark of heroism: bravely to overcome it the genuine proof. Had Leonidas, Alexander, Cæsar, Edward the third of England, his immortal son, or our invincible Henry the fifth, too much deliberated their mighty enterprizes, they never could have acquired the renown, it has proved so glorious to their names and their countries: their courage led them to encounter difficulties, which their magnanimity enabled them to conquer.

Of a like stamp is the illustrious genius of his present Prussian majesty: and suitable to his exalted character, are those of the generals who command under him. How has the vast Russian army been kept at bay by the brave marshal Lewald for a whole campaign; nay, once attacked successfully even in their trenches by him, with a force little exceeding a quarter part of their numbers! While their august monarch, assailed on all sides by the most potent enemies, preserves equanimity of mind to concert, and vigour of intrepidity to execute every measure that is either necessary, or possible, for his support. Surrounded, as he sees himself, by a cowardly association of more than half the powers of Europe to crush him, does he suffer the pressure of fortune or of might to dispirit his princely heart? Does he give way in any point to unworthy apprehension? or suffer himself to listen to terms of accommodation, for safety either to his person or his people, that the dignity of his spirit must deem inglorious?

But what has he beheld in a neighbouring country, of the only ally that was left him upon the continent? Was there therein such a want of money, of arms, of people, or of conduct, that it should have been so feebly defended, so abjectly abandoned to a conqueror? When property, freedom, religion, were all at stake, sure every man would have been willing to fight in their defence; and every man should have been furnished with the instruments and means for so doing. Caution, therefore, must have too much swayed in their councils; and treacherous, treasonable fear has betrayed them into the hands of their enemies. Did our renowned Edwards, or the Henry I have mentioned, ever stoop to take safety upon such wretched conditions, as have there been ignominiously submitted to? No: in their hours of imminent peril, great as were ever encountered, their truly royal spirits rather sought refuge from despair; and by resolutely devoting their lives to the rescue of honour, gloriously achieved an immortality of fame! Fairly then may it be urged, and fully must it be allowed, to the mortifying discredit of our days, that a country so over-run, so yielded up to a victor, could have no true genius for enterprize exerted in its defence, no genuine hero employed for its protection.

But to that unhappy country only the fatal errors are not confined, or rather let me say the ruinous crimes, of counselling but to miscarry, or procrastinating but to loose. Courage must be allowed the most honourable characteristic of man, as chastity is that of woman. If, therefore, regarding the latter, the poet is acknowledged with wisdom to assert,

The Woman that deliberates is lost:

In respect to the former, it may with equal certainty be urged, that he who once suffers himself, in the scales of reason, to weigh safety against reputation, is, by that act, in extreme danger of meanly sacrificing the last to the first.

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The man who has not given evident proofs of his capacity, for executing an important trust, should never, by any means, have such an ~~an~~ ^{trust} reposed on him. And he who is so humble as to doubt of his own abilities, for an honourable acquittance of himself in the duty assigned him, will by that very diffidence be sure to be disconcerted in every operation he attempts. Little consultation can be necessary, or even safe, in the execution of military enterprizes: and long deliberations on the manner of performance, will be ever sure to weaken the means of accomplishing them. Intelligence and wisdom are the proper counsellors of a commander in chief. He should have such comprehension and knowledge, as to make no more at the place of action requisite, than but to look, resolve, and go to work. I have, with certainty, been informed that many able commanders have, from long experience, greatly decried the practice of holding councils of war: and to every man many wise reasons must occur, with all observation on their general effects in practice, sufficiently convictive of their inefficacy to any good purpose; nay, in most points, of the evidency of evils that must attend them. For my own part, I have long considered them but as shifts and conspiracies to cover scandalous inaction: and never can, nor shall, expect good success from any undertaking to which they are applied. I conceive them to be but meetings for the proposals of such doubts as may, without a straining of construction, be called fears: and for the scandalous and cowardly concerting of palliatives to disgraces.

As for the issue of any inquiries into the causes of our last national disgrace, I hope it will be as signal as I would have it uninfluenced either by prejudice, passion or clamour: and on our patriot-ministers, under their royal master, let me entreat my good countrymen: patiently to rely for a clear, full, and judicial decision of the matter; ~~with~~ ⁱⁿ aim,

SIR,

Your constant reader,

And humble servant,

JUSTUS.

THE
H E R A L D,
OR

Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-T RUTH, Esq;

NUMBER VIII.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER, 3, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

While we are poorly influenced by a sorry and mercantile maxim, first broached by a trading minister, "that the interest of a nation is its truest honour;" the French conduct themselves on an opposite and higher principle, "that the honour of a nation is its truest in-

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awful to
of my su
jubilant
 Estimate of the manners and principles of the times.

To the HERALD, &c.

SIR,

BEG leave to interrupt your political and commercial publications on a subject, that I cannot but think interesting to my country, and which I address you upon with propriety, as by your office you must be supposed a competent judge of the ceremonials of state, employment and dignity. Nor is my subject wholly unconnected with the general scheme of your lucubrations.

I am, Mr. Tell-Truth, one of the few existing Englishmen, who have so unfashionable a sense of both public and private honour, as to be of opinion, that even wealth is too dearly purchased at the price of it. How meanly we sacrifice it in our affairs and intercourses at home, may be worthy of your attention to examine; but I shall confine my present observations to our national appearance abroad, and that from a single and very recent instance.

I was not so much surprised as ashamed at reading in our public newspapers; a very little while ago, the following paragraph, among the articles translated from foreign Gazettes, which I insert in the very words of their publications.

"*Lisbon, August the 23d. Mr. Hay, who has resided here these three years, as consul of the English nation, having received letters of credence by the last packet-boat, to succeed the late Mr. Castres, in quality of his Britannick majesty's envoy extraordinary at this court, had the day before yesterday his first audience in that character of the king, queen, and royal family, and, to*

VOL. I.

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AVOID

AVOID THE ENCUMBRANCE OF CEREMONIES, it is regulated that he shall PAY THE FIRST VISIT TO ALL OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS.

This article of news, thus inserted in all the public papers of Europe, I cannot look upon in any other light, than as intended for a national disgrace to us, and that in other countries it was actually published as such. Whether the fact be true or false I pretend not to say; but, upon enquiry, if it is found a relation of veracity, and the accommodation mentioned is not the established practice amongst public ministers at foreign courts, we suffer a national dishonour therein, that should bring the author of it to condign punishment; or it is to be hoped all ranks of people will join to require the chastisement of those persons, be they who they may, who would offer to screen him from justice.

The crown of Great Britain is an imperial one; of such dignity and antiquity, as not to yield the precedence to any other in the world. The honours and rank of it cannot be given up even by its royal wearers; and a subject who presumes in any point to sacrifice them, incurs by so doing the penalty of *high crimes and misdemeanours*, if not of *high treason*. We want not instances in our annals of impeachments being founded on such pleas.

I pretend not peremptorily to decide; but I believe, Mr. Herald, I might venture to assert, that the practice in these cases is as follows. When the minister of a nation arrives at any court, he pays a visit to the secretary of state, and notifies to all foreign ministers there resident his arrival: on which notification, all pay him visits of congratulation, which he as ceremoniously returns. The same is the practice, I conclude, upon all advancements of character, as it is the universal custom in all the formal intercourses of private life.

If such is the regulated method of proceeding, for any one to depart from it, and by stipulation too, is openly allowing inferiority, and submitting to an acknowledged subordination: which, to whatever lengths of humility a man's disposition may carry him in a private station, in a public one can by no means, or in any shape, be endured: and if done from a poverty of spirit or want of understanding, either of them more than sufficiently proves the unworthiness of the person for his office.

But of all nations upon earth, Portugal is certainly the most improper for any such concessions to be made in. There, blood, rank, title, preference, all the circumstances of pride and pomp, are resolutely asserted, and obstinately persisted in. They weigh honours and qualities by grains and scruples, and recede from no points of preheminence or equality that they have any kind of pretence of claiming or adhering to. Nay, they will suffer any inconvenience, even want, disgrace and misery, rather than publicly give way in appearances.

What therefore they esteem so highly dishonourable as to be even worse than death to practice, or submit to bear, it cannot but be supposed they will despise others for doing or suffering. And contempt among them includes hatred, abhorrence, detestation! A disgraced man is so avoided, that they will have no communication with him; his conversation and his company are for ever renounced. This we may think an extra-

gance of opinion and practice: to the length they carry it, it certainly is so: nay, many of themselves affect to own it an absurdity: yet all agree they are notions too deeply and generally rooted for any particulars to dare aim at altering, or pretend to deviate from in practice: the state, nobility, clergy and commonality, alike agreeing to countenance and assent to them, and every order of the nation regulating their conduct thereby.

And we, if sollicitous for their esteem, when in their country, should surely conform in our proceedings to their opinions of things; or by their opinions we must expect to be condemned, and consequently despised. Other nations do act there by Portuguese maxims, and find their account, in respect at least, from so doing. And for us to act among them upon the sordid principles fostered at home, is only furnishing occasions and pretences for them to gratify wanton pride in offering us unprovoked insults. The Portuguese would glory as much in a point of ministerial jockeyship in one of their nation for the aggrandizement of his character, as in a compleat victory gained by a commander of their forces over the most inveterate enemies of their country.

Nor are they so singular in thinking points of this kind consequential, as, I fear, we are in shewing an entire disregard of them. We think, if we get money we secure all things: other nations think money no kind of compensation for violated dignity and respect. From the notion, I apprehend, also that a profusion of expence is the criterion of greatness; too many of our travelling nobility and gentry are the objects of ridicule and contempt in every country they visit. More ceremony, and a greater regard for forms and appearances than we are disposed to adopt; more delicacy shewn in the means of acquiring money, and more precaution used in the methods of spending it than we discover in our practices, are, I will venture to assert, influential principles in every other kingdom of Europe. And that our opinions in these points should be opposed to those of all the rest of mankind, is what may perhaps require more apology than commendation.

But having been favoured with a collection of facts, touching Portugal, extremely apposite to the point in question, I shall here produce them, the better to enable my countrymen to decide with wisdom upon the article I have quoted from our news-papers.

The count of Ereceira, a writer of the first reputation in that kingdom, mentions as a gracious condescension in their infanta, consort to our king Charles the second, that upon the duke of York's paying a congratulatory visit aboard the man of war which brought her to England, she advanced three steps to meet him. And within a few weeks past our news-papers have flourished on a courtesy of the like nature from their present king, who condescended peculiarly to honour a man in high rank of our nation, by advancing two steps forward to encounter his lordship's complimentary address. The same noble author records, that after the royal marriage was solemnized at Portsmouth, the marquis of Sande, their ambassador, touched Prince Rupert on the shoulder, and told him that he walked in his place, because as the King's nephew, and as it was undoubtedly his right to do, he marched in the procession before him.

In the royal Opera house at Lisbon, which had not been opened above seven months before it was destroyed by the late earthquake, the King assigned the box on the right hand of that in which the royal family sat to his natural brothers, and the box on his left hand to the Cardinal Patriarch. But the latter would not yield the precedence, and therefore at all representations his box appeared empty. Other persons, likewise, denied themselves the pleasure of ever being at that entertainment, because they had not the distinction of places assigned which they judged due to their rank. Thus, though they thought their ambassador had a right to take place of a legitimate Prince of our blood royal, they gave to illegitimate ones of theirs the precedence of a Prince of the church; whose order pretend a right of yielding it to none but crowned heads.

When the count of Unhaô, now Portuguese ambassador at the court of Madrid, first arrived at that city, he was made, probably by accident, to wait some time for the King's coaches that were, as is customary, to receive him. In return for which, as no affront or even an appearance of it, to his court might remain without satisfaction, when the count of Perelada, ambassador from Spain (he who was afterwards killed by the earthquake) arrived at Lisbon, he was made to wait in the barge that brought him across the Tagus an equal time before the royal equipages, came to convey him to his house. An instance as striking as it is recent, of their great regard to ceremonial decorum, and of their resenting and revenging the least violations of their due therein.

The arch-bishops of Braga are primates of Portugal, and pretend indeed to be of all Spain. He who last enjoyed that high dignity, was, as the present is, a royal bastard. When invested therewith, they cannot come to court, nor ever do, because they will not be obliged to give place to the arch-bishop of Lisbon, who is only of a noble family with an inferior mitre, but always a cardinal and patriarch; and thereby has the right of precedence: which the others will not yield, notwithstanding the preeminencies of the church supersede those of blood: and indeed all other distinctions are annihilated in the ecclesiastic character.

The present Duke of Alafons is the son and representative of a bastard of king Peter the second, but who was legitimated by his royal father. And therefore when the late king gave, by decree, Senhor Don John, his brother Don Francisco's natural son, rank above him, the duke refused to allow his right to it, and does not yet, nor will, yield up the point. Accordingly, at his present most faithful majesty's acclamation, or coronation, the duke declined paying homage, and taking the oaths second after the princes in whole blood, though a saving decree had been issued with regard to rights and rank in any proceedings of that day, but performed those ceremonies after all other titulars, whom he should have gone before, at the head of the judges, as regidor; an office he occupied at that time as now, and is in dignity next to that of constable of the kingdom, but gives no higher rank than he appeared in. The employment is something of the nature of our chief justiceship of England, but of higher figure. The office of constable is only occasionally served.

served there as with us: and was on that day by the king's only brother, the infant Don Peter.

When count Rosemberg, a few years ago, went minister from the Imperial court to that of Portugal, with powers, it was said, for taking any character upon him; because he did not assume the title of ambassador; several of the Portuguese nobility declined visiting him, to avoid using the address of excellency, which was not due to his inferior character of minister only, though it was undeniably to his rank as count; but they said they were to know him only by his public character: in which they probably thought he had degraded his private one. For no titular among them will accept, for a foreign court, an employment beneath that of ambassador.

A princess of the house of Holstein-back is married there to Don Mansel de Souza Calhariz; but as her husband, though a nobleman, is not a titular, the ladies of quality will by no means address her with excellency; and therefore in speaking of her, or to her, only use the words, Senhora Princessa.

Nay, so very scrupulous are they among one another, in always giving and taking their exact dues, that not many years ago, in a church porch, an affront of that kind cost the late marquis of Minas his life; where being crowded by an inferior nobleman, he addressed him with worship instead of lordship: to which the other returning lordship instead of excellency, a quarrel ensued, in which the marquis was killed; and the other saved his life by proving he had received the first affront.

There afterwards happened a very extraordinary dispute betwixt two noblemen; one a count, the other no titular, but who had served the office of vice-roy in India: their equipages meeting in a street too narrow for them to pass each other, neither of them would submit to back and give the way: so they patiently sat for several hours in their carriages, till the affair was referred to the king, and he had leisure to decide it; whose decision was, that they should both back, and take different ways: by which means their honours were preserved; and probably one or both of their lives.

But a still fresher and more unhappy instance has happened, to exemplify the effects of that spirit among them. At a French ball, where many of the Portuguese nobility were present, a dispute arose, while the company were at supper, betwixt Don — Noronha, a son of the count of Arcos, and Don Antonio de Menezes, in which the former struck the latter; who, in return, had seized a bottle, and was going to repay the injury, by throwing it at his adversary's head; but was unfortunately prevented. Had he done it, his honour had been recovered: but as he could not, he remains with the undeliable stain of a blow. Both were immediately laid under arrest: and, to prevent cool mischief, the aggressor was suffered to escape out of the kingdom; where he remains in miserable indigence, as his family is too poor to furnish him with the means for his decent existence; while the other remains in a state of so much infamy at home, that he cannot go to court, assist in any public act, nor be received in any honourable company. For, till he has caused

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the man who struck him to be murdered, no nobleman will be seen by him, nor even sit down, or stay in a room where he finds him. Yet is this dishonoured young nobleman a man of sense, and of a worthy character: but he must, at all events, commit murder or patiently submit to contempt: After the late dreadful earthquake, the starving exile wrote to Don Antonio, telling him that he embraced that time of general distress and compassion to implore a reconciliation, and offering to make any satisfaction for the injury he had done him. But the offended's relations obliged him to sign a letter they took upon themselves to write in answer, which was such an one as cut off all hopes of accommodation for ever.

And with regard to that people, a late proceeding at our own court furnishes an instance how far a slight will be resented by particulars of them. When Marco Antonio de Azevedo, who had resided here for a considerable time as envoy from Portugal, was called home to enter upon the office of secretary of state, partly, it may be supposed, for his satisfactory conduct here, and partly by way of ingratiating ourselves with a man who was going to commence minister of state in his own country; the present made to him, on his departure, was double of what had been usually given to envoys on such occasions. His successor happened not to make himself so agreeable in his mission here; and, it is said, was removed at the desire of our court. And our ministers not thinking themselves interested in conferring obligations upon him, occasioned his being complimented only with the usual present; which he refused to accept; alledging that he could not, nor would, appear in a lighter inferior to that of his predecessor. An argument of great weight in his country, though not admitted to be such in ours. In fine, we were stiff and he was rigid: so he quitted the kingdom without receiving any present at all. The matter was afterwards made up by the two courts, by their mutually agreeing never, in future, to make any present at all to each other's ministers: which was a compromise proper enough for the kingdoms. But unluckily for us (who are so abject to pay a court to that nation which they are no ways entitled to receive from us) this affronted minister has since raised himself to such a pitch of power at home, that he is said to govern there both king and kingdom. And as the Portuguese are characteristically tenacious of resentment, and eager pursuers of revenge, he is thought in his present station seldom to have missed an opportunity for gratifying of both. To which motives are attributed, on that side of the water, the numberless embarrassments and oppressions our countrymen and commerce have suffered.

As, I believe, I have already exceeded the compass of your paper, I reserve for another letter, instances of the conduct of other nations at that court: and to make some observations pertinent to my subject, which I think may be serviceable informations to my country: who am,

SIR,

Your humble servant,

LUSITANNICUS.

THE
H E R A L D,

O R

Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER IX.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER, 10, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

Let the low-minded of these narrow days
No more presume to deem the lofty Tale
Of antient times, in pity to their own,
Romance.

THOMPSON.

SIR,

To the HERALD, &c.

A VING already furnished some remarkable instances of the great regard shewn by the Portugueze nation to rank, preference, decorum, and to all ceremonious points of honour, public and private; I shall in this letter, agreeable to my promise, relate some facts to exemplify the conduct of other nations therein, particularly at that court: add a few additional circumstances relating to themselves, which, for want of room, had not place among those I last sent you; and then, as I have engaged to do, shall finish with some remarks on what occasioned my writing to you these letters.

The world well knows how by a trick of the vain-glorious Lewis the fourteenth of France, he took for a Spanish confession of his national right of precedence, what they designed for a contrary purpose, as never intending to yield it up to him. Yet are his successors so presumptuous as to persevere in asserting their claim to it therefrom: while the Spanish monarchs are no less obstinate in denying them that right, and in not submitting to their usurpation of it in practice.

It is almost beside my purpose to mention the stubborn, bloody, and even mortal squabble which happened here from such a cause, between the servants of the Ambassadors of those two crowns, at a publick entry so long ago as in James the first's time: which, to prevent the like in future, occasioned a general adjustment among princes and states, that the equipages of foreign ministers should never thereafter have place in such processions; it being impossible to regulate rank among them. Nor need I dwell on the manner of holding congresses, where the rights of precedence are yielded by no crowned heads to one another, either in the ceremonial of sitting to consult upon treaties, or in the

signing of them. Ceremonies being the outworks of greatness, should be cautiously attended to and preserved. Trifles of no intrinsic worth are made valuable by the regard that is shewn for them. Publickly to comply with demands, is stooping to submissions. And as all rights of superiority whatever are claimed from precedents, every man must be deemed criminal who dishonours his country by the making of them.

Princes hold themselves particularly interested in the personal treatment of their representative ministers at foreign courts. Oliver Cromwell's conduct in violating the sanctuary of the Portugueze ambassador's house at London has been always condemned, though in an act of justice: and that it was not publicly resented by that nation, as may be judged from a similar example which will presently be given, was owing to nothing else than the distressed circumstances which they happened at that time to be in. An insult offered to a Russian minister's person in Queen Anne's time, was with difficulty compromised by our sending an ambassador extraordinary to apologize for it. Nor was it reckoned other than a bold step, in his late majesty's reign, to seize the persons and papers of the Swedish ministers in England and Holland, though they were actually engaged in a plot to subvert our government. Nor would Charles the twelfth probably have failed to have revenged the affront had he lived; or his country, had they not remained after his death a ruined and debilitated nation. But all these circumstances, are of a higher nature than that which I at present am treating of. And I only mention them, as well as some others, to shew the consequence of the ministerial character: from whence may be inferred how careful all should be, even in the minutest points, of supporting the dignity of it.

But extremely apposite to the matter in question was a signal instance of delicacy that very lately occurred at the court of Portugal, betwixt the ambassadors of those two crowns, by one of which precedence is claimed and by the other denied. In the King's new Opera house, the third box in rank below that in which the royal family sat was appropriated to the accommodation of foreign ambassadors: to seats in which, the persons who had a right were the Pope's nuncio and the French and Spanish ambassadors, the inferior foreign ministers having places assigned them in an upper story. In this box there could be no doubt, among the interested parties, to the nuncio's having the seat of preheminence: but who was to sit in the second place became a matter of dispute. The French ambassador would not consent to an alternate having and yielding of it, not daring to allow an equality; and the Spanish ambassador could not accept of the lowest seat always, as that would be publickly acknowledging inferiority. In short, after much difficulty, the matter was compromised by the following regulation. The Frenchman had the seat the first night; and afterwards they took it by turns: the person whose night it happened not to be, either staying away or going to the box belonging to the secretaries of state.

When the late French ambassador in that kingdom was regulating the ceremonials of his public entry, it was insisted upon by the court of Portugal that he should appear in a cloak upon the occasion, which is part

of the solemn dress of their country : a point he ventured not to give way in without express permission from home. And accordingly his entry was delayed till he received not only his orders thereupon, but the cloak also that he made use of ; which was of gold stuff, embroidered ; notwithstanding the Portugueze fashion is to wear them of plain black. The same ambassador had a dispute there, likewise, with a new nuncio upon a ceremonial of dress in their first visits ; which was a matter he likewise referred himself upon to the decision of his court.

At the revolution of Portugal in the year 1640, when John the fourth was exalted from the Dukedom of Braganza to the throne of that kingdom, the French, being then at war with the Spaniards, for their own ends encouraged and abetted that proceeding. Yet, as says the count of Ereceira (who was a general and statesman as well as the historian of his own times) their King could by no means be prevailed on to allow him the dues of his rank, but absolutely refused to address him with majesty. While he (it may be supposed) not caring to accept of an inferior distinguishing appellation, was forced to put up with *thou*, or *you*. So very scrupulous are they in their honorary concessions, even in instances where their interest is concerned. Different, on that occasion, was the conduct of our Charles the first, who, as we are informed by the same noble author, stopt their ambassador upon the road, and, at a village without London, detained him till he had formally, by a deputation, enquired into the rights of that Prince to the dignity he assumed ; and being satisfied therein, not only then frankly acknowledged his claim, but gave him immediately all the honours that were due to his regal station. The time at which the French afterwards condescended to do it I cannot precisely ascertain, but suppose it was not till by their treaty with Spain under our mediation ; when the independency of that kingdom was universally acknowledged. However, it was not till about the year 1740, on Monsieur Chavigny's going thither ambassador, that they admitted the Portugueze to an equality of treatment : there having been a point in dispute, which till that time could never be settled between them. The matter contended for was, upon a French ambassador's arrival at Lisbon, whether he should visit the Portugueze secretary of state, or the secretary of state first visit him. The French had always prevailed therein till the reign of his late Portugueze majesty, who being a Prince of a very high spirit, and conceiving his importance to be augmented by the discovery of his gold and diamond mines, resolved in all points to put himself upon a footing with the greatest Kings of Europe. And, accordingly, on a French Ambassador's arrival at his court, upwards of thirty years ago, he demanded the rights of ceremony in that particular : which the French not condescending to yield in, their Ambassador returned without assuming his character, or being admitted to an audience. There since happened another dispute between them, on the French King's not choosing to allow his brother of Portugal the title of Most Faithful Majesty : an honour the late King had conferred upon him, a little while before his death, by the Pope. The French Monarch taking upon himself

to dispute that authority ; though he inherits a similar one, himself which has no other foundation. The truth is, that they think they support a dignity in not making too ready concessions of honours. And perhaps do no err in policy by endeavouring to make them favours, and even in challenging advantages for allowing them.

In the year 1735, the rupture that had like to have happened between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, and which was probably prevented by our sending a very large and expensive fleet under the command of Sir John Norris in support of the latter, was from the following proceedings. The servants of the Portuguese minister in Spain rescued an offender from the hands of justice, in a place they conceived to be protected by their master ; and carried him for sanctuary to his house. Of the master the prisoner was demanded ; who refused to surrender him from the sanctuary of his house, thinking that if he did, he should thereby sacrifice the dignity and authority of his character. Upon which refusal a guard was sent to seize his servants, which they did, secretary and all, and they were for some time confined in the common prison. The account of these proceedings no sooner got to Lisbon, than his Portuguese Majesty treated the servants of the Spanish minister at his court in the same manner : not suffering himself to pocket up so public an affront, even though, by resenting it as he did, he imminently hazarded his own safety. The Spaniards upon this immediately marched down troops to their frontiers ; and the Portuguese set about augmenting their forces with all possible expedition : But by our timely and strongly interposing, farther evils were prevented. From this, as well as the other examples produced, we see what the Portuguese notions of honour are : and may be satisfied they are disposed to run all risks rather than suffer a national slight or insult to pass unresented or unrevenged. Surely then, under their eye at least, it concerns all nations to regulate their proceedings by the same rigid rules of right, dignity and decorum.

We read, indeed, of big-talking and high-acting of ministers of ours in the days of Queen Elizabeth and of Oliver Cromwell : nay since, of an Earl of Manchester at Venice, and of an Earl of Stair at Paris, who knew how greatly to support the importance of their characters, and therein their country's honour. The latter thought Jockeyship in the ceremonial of a visit with a Prince of the blood a ministerial feat : and such among proud nations it will certainly be deemed, and give the man reputation who performs it. But these are deeds to be talked of by us, like the great ones in arms wrought by our forefathers, as wonders of times past, not to be practiced in our tamer and humbler days : in which, for the intoxicating revelries of effeminating pleasures, money, and not honour, is become our object. However, I have heard of one stroke of a like kind successfully struck of late by a minister of ours, and it happened too at the court of Portugal ; which as a novelty I shall gratify your readers with relating.

When Chavigny, as French ambassador, arrived at Lisbon, the British Envoy then resident there, from former intercourses having a personal contempt for the man, was not a little mortified with appearing at the same court

court in an inferior character: and therefore he thought it worth his attention to get the public laugh on his side against his rival, by playing him a ministerial trick in the point of ceremony. That Ambassador, as I have already mentioned, was the first of his nation who was permitted to pay the courtesy of the first visit to the secretary of state: and, by the settled ceremonial of its return, was to receive that minister without his door, when he alighted from his coach. The ambassador having paid his visit, the British Envoy got intelligence of the precise time on which it was to be returned; and went to pay his visit of congratulation a few minutes before: where, attentive to the arrival of the equipage, he took care to make himself ready for his departure just as the news was brought in of the Secretary of State's being arrived: the Ambassador thereupon hurried down stairs; and our Envoy accompanying him, the first ceremony that past in the street was that of their taking leave of each other, which otherwise must have happened in the anti-chamber, the rank of an Envoy requiring no farther attendance. This happy fling gave the British Minister great credit; and did his nation honour in the opinion of the Portuguese. If the practice of such dexterities have been found productive of esteem, I leave to my countrymen to judge how different an opinion the poor stipulated surrender of all rights in ceremony must have raised in them.

Of the very extraordinary article of news, therefore, that I have quoted, as it seems to have been industriously circulated by foreign Gazettes though every country of Europe, I cannot help thinking as of a signal disgrace which merits a strict enquiry into; and that full informations should be given to the following queries. First, if it be fact? Secondly, if a novelty? And thirdly, if the two former points are allowed, whether so combinat'd an affront has been offered from a contempt of the nation, or of the man? If of the former, it certainly behoves us, by every method in our power, to endeavour to retrieve the respect that has been hitherto paid, and is certainly due, to our Sovereign and his kingdoms. If of the latter, it is a melancholy prospect of what is to be expected from his spirit and capacity in his office: and he surely ought to end his mission, before farther mischief is done, with being made to answer for his methods of beginning it.

It may here be worth while to enquire what foreign ministers there are at the court of Portugal to have demanded so humiliating a sacrifice of decorum. The whole of them are, a Pope's Nuncio, a Spanish ambassador, an Hungarian, Neapolitan and Dutch minister, a Prussian resident, and a French chargé des affaires. With the first and last ours has at present nothing to do; and surely among the rest a British envoy extraordinary should figure high enough to require and receive the rights and preeminencies of his character.

That this matter may be fairly judged of, I have taken the pains to be copious and particular in my informations, as well concerning the people as the practices usual among them; by whom we may depend any surrender of dignity on our parts will be commented upon with the greatest freedom; and may even influence their treating us in other matters injuriously: pretensions for doing which we have abundantly furnished them with already without reason; as, with the uses they have made of them, I may hereafter make known.

It has for a long time been allowed a very impolitic practice of ours to make envoys of consult at Lisbon; the Portuguese having ever regarded it, and ever will do as a mark of disrespect to their nation. Other kingdoms may, and many do think in the same manner: and hence we probably derive the disgrace now instanced to our ministerial representative abroad.

Dignity of blood is certainly the surest qualification for exciting regard in Portugal. But the claim is entirely sacrificed by any man who accepts of an employment beneath his rank, or by his making an unworthy alliance. A Portuguese man of quality will neither contract a marriage or accept of an office that dishonours him, for any consideration of money. By the laws of

the kingdom, all noblemen forfeit their honours by marrying without express licence from the King : and if they degrade themselves theran, or by executing of unworthy employments, they are immediately renounced by their families. An Envoy, or even an Ambassador's wife there, will not be visited by ladies of rank, whose quality from birth entitles her not to that honour. I could give an instance of a woman of family's being wholly neglected by them, when the wife of a British Envoy, probably because her husband, who was himself a nobleman, had first appeared among them in the employment of Consul.

Surely, if no sense of national honour or respect has any influence on our conduct in these particulars, the prevailing principle of interest, which we admit to such forcible sway among us, ought a little to incite our regard to them. The Portuguese nation in general (and with good reason, from past experience of our friendship) are disposed to entertain a very high esteem for ours; and to give us the preference to others in all things, were not our own mean and Fordid practices repulsive therein. Whilst they are forced to receive most commodities for cloathing from abroad, fashions will of course be imported with them. It ought therefore to be an object of our regard to have persons there who could properly secure ours the preference. I know of no good effects that an ambassador of blood, titles and understanding, with a lady of taste and address, might not produce in that kingdom. But we are so far from endeavouring at, or deserving them, that all our attentions, in our affairs abroad as well as at home, are to the gratifications of particulars among ourselves, in the disposal of employments: which are given to oblige this man or that party, however unequal to the fit execution of them the persons appointed may prove. While, from a depravity of spirit, we effectually play the game of interest into the hands of our national rivals and natural enemies, by abjectly stooping to ape them in all things, and thereby contribute to the giving them the lead for fashions and manufactures to all Europe. Which surely for a trading nation (what in other points we perhaps too much affect to be) is acting just as wisely as that shop-keeper must be supposed to do, who should write under his sign and over his door, *the best and most elegant goods, in my way, are to be had by my neighbour on the other side of the street.*

Where we have interests to preserve or forward, or dignity to support, we ought to be careful in our choice of persons for employments, on whose conduct they must greatly depend: from the consideration that such as want the requisite qualities for doing good may be liable to do mischief. And while there are so many offices at home that may be made, and generally are made, provisions for people of meer family interest, the nation has just right to expect that merit and fit qualifications should be the only recommendations to them abroad. So that any minister of state who wants the spirit and honesty to refuse the selfish gratifications of his creatures therein, shews, by his compliances, an utter unworthiness of the confidence either of his sovereign or his country.

I may hereafter, perhaps, farther enlarge upon the fatal effects of family, party, and personal partialities; which are among the great evils that seem hurrying our infatuated nation to destruction. Concluding my present subject with observing, that if the interests of the kingdom are not pursued with more wisdom than they have been, and the dignity of his majesty's crown better supported in foreign nations than we have lately seen it, we shall encounter such injuries and affronts as will force open our unwilling eyes to behold ourselves in the sorry condition of being bullied, bubbled and despised by all Europe.

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

LUSITANUS.

THE
H E R A L D,
OR

Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER X.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER, 17, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

There are certain Rogueries in office, which being long practiced, and by many, are at last reckoned as sacred as the trust, against which they are committed.—A sufficient reason for providing, by great and certain penalties, that none be committed.

GORDON.

A Nation, like a particular man, when in involved circumstances, has but two ways for retrieving them; which are saving and getting: expences must be lessened, or gains encreased: and both means, if possible, should be applied.

On these heads I shall offer some considerations to the public; and reserving the subject of getting for my next paper, I appropriate this to the article of saving: a measure our condition makes highly necessary, and must be a leading one, if reformation is intended to take place; for without it all other endeavours will certainly prove vain and ineffectual.

If we survey attentively the great and affluent of our country, we shall discover, that few enormous acquisitions have been made among us of late years, except by government jobbs and employments: and from them, that such numerous and extensive ones have been raised, as may justly alarm honour and industry to behold; pain moderation to contemplate upon; and fill with mortifying, or ghastly apprehensions, all truly loyal and patriot minds.

Can it be expected our landed gentry will patiently suffer themselves to be eat out of moderate inheritances by excessive taxes, and our lower artizans and husbandmen see themselves reduced to the necessity of imploring parish assistance or charitable reliefs, from levies upon them, that are so great as to incapacitate them by their incomes and industry to support their families; while they behold jobbers, contractors, low commissioners, the very clerks in offices, and all the minions and even adjuncts of power, revelling in plenty, nay, heaping up such immensities of treasure, as enable them to intrude their upstart offspring into the best families of the kingdom? who meanly stoop to the making of such disgraceful alliances, either to repair the breaches in fortune made

by former wasters, or for the means of gratifying luxurious ostentation, which they purchase by the prostitution of nobility, and with the sacrifice of spirit, dignity, and genuine respect.

One of the greatest evils that despotism plagues a kingdom with, is its unnecessary and barbarous extortions from the innocent and truly meritorious, for gratifications to pimps, parasites, prostitutes, buffoons! the worthless vermin of a court; with spies, financiers, bashaws of provinces, and all the vile and merciless instruments of oppressive power. And free states must ever be considered as approaching to their dissolution, in proportion as the drones of authority are beheld devouring, at their ease, the property of the virtuous, and the earnings of the industrious.

It is the undoubted privilege of freemen, and the constitutional right of Britons, to give, not to pay, for the support of government, and for their common defence. What they generously contribute for those good purposes, they ought to be satisfied is applied with wisdom, and withconomy dispensed. The servants of the crown are no less the servants of the community. If they are appointed by the former, they are equally accountable to the latter for every article of their conduct. The waste and misapplication of public treasure, are among the great crimes of state that are highly punishable by the laws of the land. And if, as the amiable Montesquieu asserts it to be, virtue is the strength and bulwark of freedom; how guilty must ministers appear who employ the wealth of the people in undermining their integrity, at the same time that they support themselves in power, by gratifying a faction with unlimited indulgence of plunder?

Inconsiderate waste, which is the least guilty part of such an accusation, being the point principally at present to be discussed, I beg leave to illustrate my thesis by an example frequently to be encountered, and familiar with common observation.

How many princely inheritances do we continually see eat out of the hands of their owners, by rapacious and devouring servants! Let a man's income be ever so great, if he is not attentive to disbursements, if he prescribes not economical rules for the good government of his household, or permits scrutinizing narrowly into the management of his stewards and bailiffs, and of carefully examining their accounts, he will be sure to have every trust violated, and every indulgence abused. All his servants will commence thieves: they will alike wantonly waste and greedily plunder, will shew no conscience in stripping a master who they see wanting in a due regard for himself: and, what is worse, will have the impudence to ground excuses for their rogueries, on a contempt for his understanding; by making use of the vile plea, not uncommon to be heard, that if men will be fools, and squander away their fortunes; those who have opportunities for sharing in the spoil, owe to their own interests the contrivance to get as large shares of it as they can; for what they omit to secure, they know will be acquired by others.

As it fares with a private man, so will it infallibly with a state, that is inattentive to thrift and good management. If we suffer the administrators

nistrators of our inheritance to make unrestrained applications of it to their own uses, or permit those under them to rob and consume at will, it is not to be doubted that the wits of all of them will be too frequently exercised in increasing their means for so doing: and nothing less, it is to be feared, will satisfy them than the entire acquisition of our all. I could name men who, upon their being reproached with unmerciful plunder of the public, in articles instanced and proved, could shelter their conduct under no better an argument than, that the finders of fault were only instigated by envy; for all men would do the same if they were but so happy as to have like opportunities. The same men have affected to shew themselves such able casuists, as essentially to distinguish betwixt public and private trusts; by boldly declaring, among their intimates and dependants, that a man may honourably make bargains with a state, which would be infamous in dealing with particulars. To such refinements in speculative wisdom are the improvers of our fashionable-practices arrived! Nor does any man in office now scruple to own, for an established maxim, that it is allowable and right to make the most of an employment. Hence all kinds of perquisites and embezzlements become justified, or at least apologized for, with every waste and disattention to duty. I have been told that among the servants of our East-India monopoly abroad, it is customary for them to raise the laugh, upon their negligences and depredations, with the cant saying of, *Jack Company pays for all.*

As the unhappy circumstances of our country are now plainly seen and heavily felt by every body, it is sure high time some reformation should begin, while safe remedies are in our power; which, if now neglected, may hereafter be applied too late. More causes for taxations are like to happen: and where they are without danger to be laid, is a question not easily to be answered. The landed man already pays more than half of his income, the labourer near a moiety of his earnings. The fabricant is taxed in the materials he uses; the dealer in almost every thing he consumes. Hearth money was formerly deemed an intolerable burthen. Now light and heat, natural as well as artificial and the very element of air, we are made to pay for enjoying. In a country the most plentiful upon earth, provisions are become dearer than in any other of the globe: from whence the prices of labour are enhanced, and commerce is become so burthened upon the whole, that all our rivals in trade, even the French, are greatly underselling us in many of our most staple commodities at foreign markets. The loss of our trade must effectually cut off our sources of supply: of which, what can be the consequences but bankruptcy and ruin?

Yet, so boyant is the flattering and delusive faculty of hope, we still lift up our heads, and indolently look after redemption: but vigour, while we can swim, must be exerted, or we shall never reach the shore. Reformation is indeed universally talked of, universally expected. If a man asks, of whom? Credulity replies our patriot ministers. I will not gainsay such fond believers, because I most heartily wish it, and would as willingly as any man rely upon them therein, notwithstanding

the disappointments we have experienced, from those who have heretofore professed the same good intentions. But, were we satisfied they really have such worthy designs, are we sure they will not be circumvented in the prosecution of them? I own I greatly apprehend it, from the leaven of old iniquity still suffered to continue in power: enough, I fear, to sour all the nutriment that should invigorate us. Gamesters, misers, triflers or prodigals, are bad agents for reformation: we must therefore strive to get all the weak and wicked entirely removed from before the King, *that his throne may be established in righteousness.*

The able and excellent Marquis of *Hallifax* observes, *that a man who cannot mind his own business, is not to be trusted with the king's.* As whoever suffers his own rascals to rob him in his private concerns, will be likely to suffer the nation's villains to do the same in those of the public. But let the matter be speedily and openly brought to a test: let the people be satisfied who are, and who are not, the men willing to be their relievers. The determination may with certainty be made, by necessary proceedings with regard to the following particulars.

We have seen from undeniable authority, in the gift of his Majesty to the marine society, ~~that the E——r fees on every thousand pounds issued from that office, amount to seventy four pounds nine shillings:~~ which, supposing the sum to be eight millions (and sure it may be estimated at much more) that annually circulates through it, makes the perquisites yearly paid by the nation thereon to be 595,600*l.* of which 200,000*l.* going to the civil list, there remains 395,600*l.* to be divided among the officers, or appropriated to uses, of which the public receives no account.

Thus, besides all charges in collecting the several taxes, which on most of them are unreasonably great, there is a deduction in one office only, from the net produce of the whole revenue, of very near seven and an half per cent. A deduction astonishing to be endured! and for which no one satisfactory reason can possibly be offered, all tendencies of it being evidently to the most ruinous effects.

The public wants not to be informed of the uses to which a great part of the civil list are applied; nor, consequently, how dangerous to the constitution an insensible increase of it may hereafter be made. Experience has hitherto shewn us, that, however ample its produce, it has rarely been found adequate to the demands on it. If, therefore, with every increase of the income, an increase of appropriations are like to take place, the very conservation of our national debt will become absolutely necessary, for the support of what is called his Majesty's civil government: and we can of course never entertain hopes of seeing it essentially reduced. Nay, the augmentation of a revenue, that ministers hold themselves not accountable for the employment of, must be thought a dangerous temptation to the enhancing of our ruinous incumbrances, for the sake of the money they, by such means, extract from them. Surely then it must be deemed a fit and fair trial of the principles of our ministers, to bring so interesting a matter to the decision, whether or not that portion of his Majesty's particular revenue shall

shall be exchanged for a fixed and estimated equivalent, to be raised in another and less dangerous manner.

The next article under our consideration is the 395,600 pounds, supposed to be distributed among the officers, whose incomes are alike enhanced by the distresses of the public. I presume that it will not be denied, the fees of that office are of ancient establishment, and settled when the revenues of government did not amount to a quarter part of what is now levied upon the subject: consequently there can be no good reason assigned, why their burthensome emoluments should proportionably increase, with the loads that necessity is continually heaping upon the shoulders of the nation. But, as things stand, they are made gradually to thrive exactly in the same degrees, as others become pinched. A disposition that is most shamefully unequal, and which brings to my mind another of the state maxims of the noble author, whom I have already quoted, which is, *that a wise prince will not oblige his courtiers, who are birds of prey, so as to disoblige his people, who are the beast of burden.*

That the servants of the crown or public should enjoy competent salaries for their employments, is highly reasonable; but surely it must be deemed as reasonable that these incomes should be ascertained, and that no abuses of the nation, or particulars be suffered from them. All fees, gratuities and perquisites whatever, except in the cases of seizures from smugglers, and informations of frauds, should therefore be entirely taken off, and a settled yearly income be substituted in their place, upon condition that whosoever exacts or receives any farther gratuity, abuses his trust, or is negligent, refractory, or dilatory in the executing of it, shall be not only cashiered, but also severely punished for his misbehaviour.

Numerous acts and informations, both public and private, have been given, of the rogues committed in his Majesty's dock-yards, and indeed in almost every office and employment under the government: where the embezzlements of materials, and misappropriations of monies, are become regulated practices, and such as require being rigorously inspected into, and effectually reformed. Of which, if proper encouragement was offered, there is no doubt but sufficient information might be had.

Our methods of making government contracts, I must also remark, are extremely liable to abuses; many of them have already the current denomination of jobs; which very term implies collusive and fraudulent combinations for robbery; of the practices whereof there requires no stronger proofs, than the enormous fortunes we see continually raised by such undertakers, by high and low commissioners, nay even by the very subalterns of office; all of which might be easily and entirely prevented, only by new regulating our methods of dealing.

Did our embryo legislators and statesmen travel to the good purposes they ought, they might long ago have learned, from the practices of other nations, much safer and better ways of making government bargains, than those that are usual among us. Proposals sealed up, for a secret decision, render such transactions too liable to all kinds of frauds and partialities. Nay, how many instances have there come to light of adjustments being made, in preference, with those whose terms were the most disadvantageous to the public? It was said of two schemes for a late supply, that the accepted one was to the amount of an hundred and seventy thousand pounds worse for the nation, than that which was rejected; and, during the late war, two remarkably iniquitous contracts in remittance businesses were detected, and made notorious to the world.

If, therefore, instead of secret proposals, all men were to make their offers openly, and bid, before a board of commissioners, face to face for such engagements, and the terms most favourable for the public were invariably accepted,

cepted, upon the offerers giving security for the faithful performance of their contracts, the probity of ministers and officers would be freed from imputation, and even from all suspicitions of male practices whatever: and the nation would be greatly more satisfied, and probably much better served than at present. Besides, it would be acting more honourably and fairly by the whole body of the people, who, as they all contribute to the public charge, have an equal right to partake in public advantages.

Many heart-grudgings and repinings, much envy and hatred, frequent grounds for clamour, and often-insinuated incitements to disaffection, would thereby be effectually removed. It would level the narrow boundaries of party, and greatly contribute to general agreement: enlarge social harmony, stimulate patriot affection, incite serviceable application, and promote a good disposition in all, by the general indulgence of laudable hope.

The antiquity of our customs ought not to reconcile us to their abuses: nor are our government regulations to be considered, as were the laws of the Medes and Persians of old, so sacred as to be unalterable. All institutions are corrupted by time and evil practices: from conviction of which *Macchiavel* pronounced, *that governments cannot long exist, without frequently recurring to their first principles*. That the foundation of our constitution was laid in candour, probity and equity, the very frame of it sufficiently shews. *To pay well and hang well*, says the excellent Mr. Trenchard, *to protect the innocent, and punish oppressors, are the binges and ligaments of all governments, the chief ends why men enter into societies*. While, therefore, we are contented to pay, there is no reason to be given, why we should tamely acquiesce in being plundered.

In all the several depredations and abuses I have mentioned and hinted at, I do not believe it would be over estimating the national prejudice in supposing we are so defrauded of an annual million: which sum, in our circumstances, is become an object to be greatly regarded. And those who would oppose a reformation in these things, can be no other than enemies to their country: and merit being punished as such. Why men who write, deal, negotiate, talk or vote for the Government, should not be held as fully rewarded with the fair pay of their offices, as those are, who suffer hardships and watchings; who fight for its support, and often die in its defence; no satisfactory reason can be affigned: any more than there can be, for not searching after and detecting suspected abuses; or the not reforming of errors that are notorious.

Mr. Hunt, discoursing of liberty and despotism, considers the practice of contracting public debts and mortgaging national revenues, as pregnant with all the evils to free governments that can hasten their ruin, particularly by the engrossing of all property into the hands of power. *And what a strong motive, says he, is this, to increase our frugality of public money; lest, for the want of it, we be reduced by the multiplicity of taxes, to curse our free government, and wish ourselves in the same state of servitude with all the nations that surround us*. Such actually was the case in Denmark: the people there made a total surrender of their liberties, merely to get rid of the protectors of them. God grant that in these kingdoms we may never be reduced to a like miserable dilemma!

THE
H E R A L D.
OR
Patriot-Præclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER XI.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER, 24, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

Effects will always correspond to causes; and wise regulations in any common-wealth are the most valuable legacy which can be left to future ages.

HUME.

A V I N G shewn, in my last paper in what articles of expence we ought to begin to make savings, in order to retrieve our national circumstances, the deplorable condition of which is now evident to all men, I shall, in this day's production, proceed to point out by what methods we should also endeavour at an ~~increase~~ of our gain, as a co-operating means highly necessary to be applied, for the redemption of our mortgaged inheritance; by the doing of which, we can only recover our national weight, vigour, discipline and virtue, the essentials of reputation, strength, prosperity and happiness.

Nothing has been more evident to observing minds than that, for near half a century past, we have been without any great or regular system of policy, foreign or domestic. Our projects have been merely temporary, our connexions ever shifting. We have entered into all quarrels, been parties in all treaties, guarantied each Prince's dominions in turn, and furthered occasionally the ambitious views of every neighbouring Potentate: having negotiated for all, fought for all, and paid all; and, like true Knight-Errants, now served and now saved the mighty of the world; without view of interest to ourselves; never seeking, nor ever receiving, a single favour from any one of them: but have been continually ballancing power between all other states at the sole expence of our own: while among ourselves, party has been the word, and rapine the aim of all. Principles have been corrupted, morals debauched, religion extirpated! Bewildered in the labyrinths of folly and vice, we have drunk of the Circean cup of pleasure till our

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senses

senses became dozed to stupefaction: greedy in our carousals, and eager to enjoy the present moment, we have been heedless of consequences, and inattentive to futurity. By such witchcraft on reason has faction established itself in so great authority, as to be able to dictate to the crown, and effectually to controul the people: Whilst in its operations of rule, it has been so weak, or so wicked, as to conduct the nation into so perilous a situation, that we need but open our eyes to see ourselves involved in an unequal war, friendless, helpless, debilitated, exhausted and despised. Such have been the blessings for which we are to thank a succession of former administrations. Such the fruits of their practices and politicks. Such the issue of their loans, gifts, succours, subsidies, negotiations, leagues and alliances abroad. And such the consequences of their briberies, corruptions, prostitutions, taxations and plunderings at home!

France, on the contrary, (our great rival and natural enemy) has obviously had a plan of comprehensive views wisely marked out, and as steadily pursued. The encrease of her dominions, the expansion of her commerce, and, in consequence thereof, her universal influence in the great affairs of the world, have been her constant and becoming objects of desire; which she has already obtained almost to the extent of her wishes: two points only remaining for her to carry, the acquisition of the Austrian Netherlands and one of our maritime provinces in North America, to enable her to give laws to all Europe.

She has long enough clearly seen that wealth, being the great ~~know~~ of war, must be the foundation of solid national power, and that public riches can have no sure and regular source but in foreign commerce. Convinced of which, she has sedulously applied her wisdom to remove natural impediments, and surmount many difficulties for the effectual establishing and supporting of it. This she has accomplished with arduous labours and numberless refined regulations. Navigable rivers have been extended, and convenient canals cut through many of her provinces. She has established an able council of trade, and erected courts of consuls for the cheap, speedy and candid decision of all mercantile disputes: has appointed faithful inspectors of imported manufactures, settled a regular and universal correspondence for intelligence of the state of all commerce: has made wise laws to prevent frauds and abuses, particularly with regard to Bankrupts and Insurances: is careful in the choice of her colony governors, and in the appointing of her civil officers abroad. She assiduously cultivates friendship with the barbarous nations of North America; and makes use of the most forcible cements to bind them to her interest; such as encouraging intermarriages of her subjects with them, and by employing numerous missionaries for their conversion to christianity.

By such means have they improved their European commerce on the ruins of ours; which has declined from a want of all necessary superintendence. And by such methods have they strengthened themselves.

lives in their barren and ill-peopled provinces of North America, so as to be an over-match for our populous and fruitful colonies on that continent. All of which is owing to our manifest want of wisdom, application or honesty, with our enormous and injudicious taxations.

If we are solicitous to retrieve our affairs, we must reform our practices in many points; we must correct abuses, prevent frauds, ease trade of its too oppressive burthens, infuse a spirit of patriotism among our officers abroad, and put it under an active, wise and able direction at home.

The foundation work must be our extending the weight and cognizance of the board of trade, which, from the importance of its concerns, should be subordinate to no office of the kingdom. The first Lord should have the rank, rights and privileges of secretary of state: he should make his reports immediately to, and receive instructions directly from, the King and council: he should recommend and correspond with all governors of colonies and consuls of factories; and his department of business should be separated from all others. Among the inferior commissioners, some merchants of eminence should have seats; who ought by no means to be either governors or directors of any of our great companies, that they may be quite uninfluenced in the interesting concerns of the nation. Among them, likewise, an able lawyer or civilian ought to have place; nay, it may even be proper to have one of each of those learned professions at that board: they ought to have jurisdiction given them over our domestic as well as foreign trade, with a right of interfering with monopolies.

Nor do I see any reason why commerce should not be as effectually disengaged in this country, as it is in France, of the tedious and expensive processes of common law; and be rescued from the too perplexing and too-frequently ignorant decisions thereof. Trade owns no laws, nor can do, but those of custom and honour; and the ablest practitioners are the best judges of every thing relating to it. A merchant who hears the harangues in our ordinary courts on points of trade, can hardly refrain from laughter at the perplexing ignorance they discover; or avoid despising the cavils, chicaneries and subterfuges of their conceptions, distinctions, authorities and practice. Besides, in most intricate cases, the decisions are left to special juries of merchants at last; who hold themselves bound in conscience to determine such matters from their own experimental knowledge, almost without any regard shewn for the opinions of the court. Great, undoubtedly, would be the advantages to a trading nation, to have all mercantile disputes settled immediately by merchants, legally appointed for that purpose: which is generally done in France in an hour's time, and commonly upon the first arising of the doubt: but as there is a power of appealing from the first judgment in that kingdom, (though it is rarely done) so ought there to be in this; and that appeal might be limited to the board of trade, whose award should be definitive; and before which none should be admitted to plead, but a settled number of merchants in behalf of each party.

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The inspectors of exported manufactures in France give great reputation to their commodities : and due care is taken that the duty is faithfully discharged by them. Among us such are become highly necessary, from the many frauds that are crept into practice here, in various adulterations, and deceitful widths and measurements. The general qualities of goods there is no necessity should be regarded, as they ought to be made finer or coarser, better or worse, as different markets or dealers may require : but care should be taken that every piece should throughout be alike, and of an equal width ; and the measurement just to what it is estimated at, or marked upon the seal ; and all should have a stamp of authority, with the inspectors name upon it that, he may be made answerable for the abuses. These officers ought to act under the direction of the board of trade, and their pay might arise from a small charge upon the goods : and they should be made highly punishable for any corruption in office, any attempt of imposition, or for any breach or neglect of duty. A good regulation of this kind would be of infinite service, as the principal dealers in our exported commodities now reside abroad ; who, as they must rely upon the good faith of those that transact business for them, are too often severely imposed upon, from the want of honesty at present amongst us.

There is a law in France with regard to bankrupts, well worthy of our adoption : which is, that when a merchant fails, though on a satisfactory surrender of his effects he is freed by law, yet he is not restored to the honours of his profession : as for example, by being prohibited to walk upon the exchange, till he has made good all deficiencies to his creditors. This should be the case here : and something similar thought of with regard to tradesmen ; for honour in most affairs can be made to operate very strongly. Other regulations might be added in this case, as well as in those of common debtors : likewise with regard to insurances, and many other interesting particulars, that, upon good informations, might be wisely digested by an able and assiduous board of trade : and ours should have an increase of weight and cognizance given to it for such good purposes.

The French council of commerce regularly receives informations of every thing that passes, relating to the trade of all other nations as well as their own, from every port in which they have consuls reside : and the same is transmitted to them from all their ports at home, as well as from their several colonies : by which means they are masters of the whole system of commerce : they see clearly its various channels, connections, interests, extents, operations and effects ; and are thereby enabled to discover all opportunities and openings for the promoting of national advantages ; and readily to perceive by what methods such undertakings are to be prosecuted with the surest prospect of success. This is a masterly regulation ; which gives them infinite advantages over such nations as ours, who deal in the dark, or follow short-sighted views : and act often from necessity, if not always by chance.

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But what good effects might not an able and honest board of trade produce to this nation, from having the whole field of commerce fairly laid open to their view? They might be enabled therefrom, with sure wisdom, to relieve or load particular branches of exports and imports; might safely determine where bounties should be granted or encreased; where lessened, or wholly taken off. By such measures the true interests of the nation would be well known and pursued; her general dealings systematically regulated; and the state of her trading and political circumstances made scientifically certain. This would effectually enlighten the great councils of the nation: enable them with ease and precision to determine many important points that come before them: to see in a clear light the great interests of the community; and to judge upon sure principles of the conduct of government administrators.

Not ought I to neglect remarking what good effects a correspondence with our own ports and those of Ireland might produce. If the inspectors I have mentioned were regularly to furnish a board of trade with all necessary intelligence, every drooping branch of commerce might by timely applications be invigorated; or a new one by proper attention be established in its place. They might be also made an effectual check to the pernicious practice of smuggling; by being obliged to receive and procure, within their regulated districts, all informations of persons and practices therein, and constantly transmit them to the board. In which duty, if they were either negligent or corrupt, it need not be long a secret to their superiors, who should immediately punish them according to their deserts. The evils done to these kingdoms by smugglers are beyond ordinary comprehension; particularly in their dealings with France. The loss to the revenue occasioned by them, is the least article to be charged to their account: for they carry commodities away the most precious to us, and most useful to that kingdom: and bring back such as are the most advantageous for them to part with, and the most pernicious for us to receive. Therefore they deserve no mercy from their country; and those are national patricides, who either encourage or protect them.

French governors and officers abroad act with more integrity and patriot zeal than ours, because their rewards are made to depend upon a manifestation of their services: whereas those of ours generally arise from the abuses of their trusts. Governors should always be men of property, family, and moral character: who would serve more for honorary than lucrative rewards: and consuls should be invariably chosen from among the most experienced merchants of the factories they are to reside in, as from such only able services are to be expected. While the prosperity of a colony or protection of a factory are made subservient to the interest or accommodation of ministerial tools and dependents, the great trusts of the crown and public are abused; and the important interests of the nation either neglected or betrayed.

The friendship of the barbarous nations of north America should be cultivated with all possible care and assiduity, as well in our exercise of kindness as justice towards them. The supplies stipulated ought to be as

as faithfully as punctually furnished: and every embezzlement thereof, or any kind of imposition on them, should be immediately and rigorously punished. We should incorporate with them as much as possible, and seriously labour in their conversion to christianity. If the crown, with all its numerous presentations to ecclesiastic benefices, has not wherewithall to reward the good works of a sufficient number of missionaries, surely provincial emoluments might be contrived. And I submit to the consideration of my good Lords the Bishops and our two honourable Houses of Parliament, if farther assistance cannot be furnished out of the great dormant fund for the augmentation of poor livings, for so pious and national a purpose: as such an application of part thereof would be so agreeable to the generous end of that charitable institution. The digesting of plans for all which valuable services, as well as the inspection of the worthy execution of them, thencewith property belong to an effectually-operating board of trade and plantations.

I have confined myself, in these observations, mostly to general heads, and touching an establishment that must be the foundation of our future improvements. Let but that measure take place, and business enough will immediately offer to exercise all the attention and talents such a direction can be masters of. When all is performed that I have hinted at, farther prospects for the advancement of our national interests will open before them. In arts there are many discoveries and improvements yet to be made; and commerce has scope enough remaining for almost an infinity of extention. I could name even regions unknown to us by traffic or acquaintance; where great matters might be done, if they were wisely undertaken. But there should be a head to contrive before limbs are set to act; or their operations will be bungling and inutile. We must shew wisdom enough to preserve our old possessions and advantages, before we busy ourselves in the acquisition of others.

The noble Lord, who has long and worthily presided at the board of trade, is one of the very few truly respectable personages of the age: and perhaps is the only man living among us, who has for a number of years held a post of importance without reproach. The public is well satisfied of his integrity; honouring him no less for his great abilities, than for his eminent virtues. His demonstrated zeal for rendering his employment truly serviceable to his country; has endeared him to it; and he is allowed to be the fittest person in the kingdom for conducting its operations to the extent they ought to reach. He is said to be disgusted; and all good men are grieved thereat: as the situation of our affairs now makes the loss of a good head and a good heart to be sorrowfully lamented. The nation, therefore, is interested in the weight of his councils; and it is at least hoped that no patriot minister will be discovered to have contributed to our losing of them: or will be found to oppose his re-establishment in that office, with all the additional powers that I have endeavoured to prove requisite for making it effectually serviceable to their country.

T H E
H E R A L D,
O R
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XII.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER, I, 1757

To be continued every THURSDAY.

The first care which wise governors will always take, is, to prevent their subjects from wanting.

TRENCHARD.

HE great hardships which the poor have suffered for these twelve months past, from the excessive prices of bread, have been truly lamentable; and their afflictions not a little aggravated from suspicions, too well grounded, that the want they have so severely felt was not natural but artificial: no chastisement inflicted on the nation by heaven, but the work only of selfish and avaricious men: who formed cruel and dangerous combinations for the acquisition of immense wealth to themselves by oppressing a whole people; to the enfeebling and scandalizing of government, the disgracing of religion and justice, and the endangering of national trade and welfare: daily distressing millions of innocent and useful subjects, till such misery was spread through three populous kingdoms, as made many perish from want, and urged others, through desperation, to the violation of the peace and laws of the community; even to the forfeiting of their own lives, and the imminent endangering of public safety.

The extortions that were but suspected last year, have been proved to demonstration by proceedings in this: wherein, after an unusual plentiful harvest, the prices of grain have been, and yet are, supported far above what the greatest scarcity need suffer them to be at. Which makes it highly necessary for the wisdom of the legislature to apply such effectual remedies for the cure of so dangerous an evil, as may not only give full relief for the present, but even prevent a future return of it, to so fatal a degree, as we long have experienced, and still continue to do.

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A great deal has been already written, and much more said, on a subject that is so interesting to all men. Yet, in my humble opinion, no scheme has been yet suggested that is like to accomplish the salutary ends proposed from public regulations therein. I am therefore emboldened by a sincere desire of serving my country, to begin this day, on which the great councils of the nation assemble, to discuss more thoroughly than has yet been done, a point of such infinite importance to the public: to which good purpose I dedicate this and my following paper.

There has been a great outcry for the enforcing and executing of penal laws on this occasion: remedies that I conceive to be extremely dangerous to apply. Property is a delicate thing to intermeddle with: as a man's liberty therein is the most essential article of social security and happiness. Besides, the executing of penal laws in all such cases, experience shews us, is liable to very great abuses; the corruptions of magistracy being grown so flagrant among us, that laws are seldom found to restrain those who can buy a protection for violating them; while to such as cannot, they are often made instruments of intolerable oppression. This is daily seen in numberless instances. And in the matter under consideration I am persuaded they would open more doors to partiality, embarrassment and grievance to innocent people, than they could possibly shut against real leaches and harpies to the public: and, in the issue, be so far from preventing iniquitous combinations for monopolies, that they would even contribute to the increasing of them.

No arguments are requisite to prove, that not only the peace, but, also, the prosperity of a nation depends on the poor's being cheaply furnished with bread. In comparison with which, every other article that they consume is to a degree luxurious. Bread is with propriety still the staff of life, it being the chief, most essential, and foundation support of it. Now the cheapness of any commodity, reason, as well as experience, will tell us must naturally depend on the abundance that there is of it. An abundance of a natural product can only be secured by the encouragement that is given to the cultivation of it: and such encouragement can in no other particulars be equal to those of freedom in dealings, and the rational appearance of its finding expence: points that demand a serious and previous consideration to all others in the present enquiry.

As plenty can only arise from a super-abundance of corn among us, the growth of that super-abundance must depend upon an apparent regular drain for the surplus of it, and the facility of expence thereby. This drain of an overstock of corn can be no other than that of exportation to foreign countries, which can only be kept open by an accommodation of price: for no neighbouring nation will buy our grain but at proportionable rates to those of other countries that can supply them therewith. And therefore, for the encouragement alike of agriculture and navigation, a large bounty is granted by us on exported corn: which being ill understood by many, has been too frequently treated as an impolitic burthen needlessly, nay destructively, laid on the community.

But

But the motives were obviously wise that influenced the legislature to the establishment of that bounty. The first and greatest of which was to secure plenty to the nation by the increase of our agriculture: the second, to secure a sale abroad of as much corn as we could spare; the produce of which is returned to us in bullion: and the third, the enriching and strengthening of the kingdom, by an increase and employment of mercantile navigation, the bounty being only allowed on what is transported in our own shipping; so that no other than our own is ever used for that purpose.

Was the bounty to be taken off, our corn lands must fall near a fourth part in their value, or the consumption would become very limited and precarious: consequently much less money would be brought into the kingdom, and much less of our shipping find employ. Farmers might then be necessitated to turn their lands to other uses; or a great many wastes, that have of late years been ploughed up, would probably be turned into commons again.

But ignorant and presumptuous declaimers are ever irritating undistinguishing minds by industriously inspiring them with a belief that we injure arts and industry at home by supplying our neighbours and rivals with bread on cheaper terms, by means of the bounty granted on exported corn, than our poor can have it at home. Which is a falsehood in fact; that might be discovered by the least enquiry or consideration thereon. For it is certain that half of the bounty is always expended in the shipping charges here: to which if freight be added, the charges in the country it is exported to, the profit of the merchant, and of other subordinate dealers, I say, if all these are brought into the estimate, it must appear that foreigners eat our corn considerably dearer than we do ourselves. Indeed, from a glut, it sometimes sells abroad to great loss: yet even then, it fetches its value in proportion to that of other nations; and we dispose of a commodity useless to ourselves in exchange for their money who take it of us. But how wide a difference in the case is there made, by its being sold, as it very often is, with an extraordinary great gain to the immediate exporters of it from hence. Such a plea, therefore, can merit no regard but from conviction that this nation is the only one from which the supplies of corn could be drawn, that other countries may generally or occasionally require. Which is so far from being the case, that if *England* did not produce a single grain, there need not, nor would, be a want of it at any of the markets of *Europe*: nor in these kingdoms, so long as we could find money to pay for it to the nations who could, and readily would, furnish us with an abundant supply thereof.

To be convinced of this truth, we need only take a survey of the state of the *corn trade* around us. But most men being not qualified for so doing, or not having the informations readily in their power for that purpose, I shall here give the public such as they may rely upon, and

and which they will find confirmed by any merchant who is practiced in the busines I am treating of.

The countries that may be deemed constant exporters of grain are *Poland, England, Sicily*, some of the *Azores*, or western islands, *New York, Philadelphia, Virginia* and *Maryland*. Those that occasionally export it, are the several provinces of the *Levant, Naples* and *Sardinia*. Others that do it less frequently, are *Barbary, Spain* and *France*: the latter sometimes to a prodigious extent. The countries that want a continual supply, more or less, are some of the *hanse towns* of *Germany, Holland, Ireland, Portugal*, the island of *Madeira*, the southern provinces of *France*, some of the ports of *Italy*, particularly *Genoa, Leghorn* and *Venice*, and the island of *Malta*. Those that occasionally want it, are *France, Spain* and *Barbary*. I speak not of the *West Indies* and *American islands*, which always receive very large supplies in flour from various parts, but particularly from *North America*; as *South America* does from many places in *Europe*. For other parts of the world, they come not within the scope of our present enquiries.

From so slight a review as I have taken, it appears evident that there can rarely happen a long want of grain in any nation of *Europe*. And if a farther regular demand than there already is was like to be occasioned, there could be immediately an encrease of growth in most of the countries that are at present the furnishers of supplies therein. *Sicily* and *Naples* have frequently the produce of many harvests in store; which they have the art of preserving with great security in caverns under ground. *Poland* is almost inexhaustible in its exports: so is *North Amerita*, and so in general are many of the *Turkish* provinces; as late experience has convinced us. In the year 1753, the crops in *Spain* almost entirely failed, and in *Portugal* to a very great degree: yet were their supplies so very abundant, that in the former kingdom our corn could find no consumption at any price; and in the latter very little. Grain was for the whole year exceeding cheap among the *Spaniards*, who even became so very wanton in the indulgence of appetite, as not to choose purchasing any but what came from the gulf of *Volo*; insomuch that numbers of cargos, particularly of English wheat, perished in their ports for want of buyers. So far ought we to be from thinking to make our own terms for corn abroad, that it rather behoves us to be careful, by the accommodation of price, to keep the markets open for its reception in foreign countries, that it may not grow into disuse, and thereby the trade be entirely lost to us.

From an examination of the state of agriculture and plenty in the kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland* only, we may be enabled to judge of the good effects of a bounty on corn in this nation: we having generally an abundance, particularly of wheat; they, commonly, a considerable want of it. Had the Irish a bounty established, as we have, there is little room to doubt that they would be as much exporters thereof as they are now importers of it. Barley they do occasionally send abroad, and

and sometimes in very considerable quantities. And should our bounty on exported wheat be taken off, there are good grounds to apprehend that we should soon become necessitated to have a regular supply of it from abroad: which would essentially affect our national balance of trade, lessen the employment of our husbandmen, affect other industry, by a contraction of our navigation, and so weaken our naval power as even to put our very safety to hazard.

With regard to other regulations, it should be observed, that the farmer is expected punctually to pay his rent; he must buy his seed and live stock, as well as regularly support his labourers, with ready money: and therefore cannot occupy his lands in the growth of corn, unless he has the prospect of a current sale for it. Nor should he, in justice, be less an absolute master of his commodity than any other man in the kingdom: and every other man in the kingdom has a right to demand as much as he pleases for what he has to sell. Nor ought he to be at all circumscribed in the manner of selling it; as I ought not to omit observing here, that our market laws were made when we were no exporters of grain; and since we have been, the nature of our dealings has of course, with good reason, altered; and, from necessity, must continue in the new practice. For if to secure plenty, as well as profit, exportation is to be encouraged, the business of intermediate dealers thereby becomes absolutely necessary. The operations of the merchant are extensive, and their execution must be immediate; the very orders of his correspondents, in general, requiring them to be so, if he acts upon commission; and if he is the adventurer himself, his own safety does the same; as the essential difference between great profit or heavy loss frequently depends, in corn, on the cargos getting early or not to market. He therefore cannot delay his undertakings for the collecting of small parcels together, nor does the nature of his business admit of his engaging in such diligences. Intermediate dealers it is then proper he should have to apply to; with whom he may at once contract for engagements to any extent. To such dealers we must allow the chance of making profits by their business, or none can be expected to take up the employment. Nor indeed are such intermediate dealers in corn less necessary to the farmer than the exporter. The growers of grain cannot, especially in times of plenty, always find consumers to take such quantities off their hands as circumstances sometimes may make even their very safety depend upon their disposal of. Away then with the cant execrations of ignorance, on ~~forestallers~~, regratters and engrossers of corn: let them have their fair denomination of factors or dealers, and be ~~deceived~~, as they are, an useful and a necessary people.

From

From these previous considerations, I have endeavoured to evince the necessity as well as justice of the freedom of dealings in corn: have shewn that plenty at home must depend on our growing also for exportation; and that exportation depends on the conservation of the bounty. I have taken the liberty likewise to disapprove of the passing of any new penal laws with regard to the sale of corn, from the probability of their ineffectuality, and their liableness to abuse: being of opinion we should take great care that in preventing occasional evils we do not create lasting ones; or that by removing of impositions we do not establish oppressions. The case under consideration is no less delicate than consequential to the public: therefore rash or ignorant applications may produce fatal effects.

That there have been great impositions in corn dealings of late is undeniable: but that they are to be all attributed to any one order of men I can discover no reasonable grounds for supposing. I rather believe many causes as well as professions have contributed to the evil, which probably had its foundation in accident, and its improvement from combined craft. As to the measure of conscience in the point of gain, I am sorry I have too good grounds for saying, with many others, that no one order in the nation appears to have a right violently to accuse another thereon. There may be, and I believe are, honest and moderate men in all professions: but still the general tendency is so much to Rapine, that perhaps it may with more propriety be said of the English than of any other people upon earth, *they are cannibals in interest, and the devourers of one another.*

Having premised thus much, I shall, in my next paper, point out an easy, safe and just method not only for immediately removing the great evil at present under consideration, but also for effectually preventing its ever arising to a pitch so enormous hereafter.

THE
H E R A L D,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq;

NUMBER XIII.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER, 8, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

When men begin to be wicked, we cannot tell where that wickedness will end; we have reason to fear the worst and provide against it. Such is the provision made by laws: they are checks upon the unruly and partial appetites of men, and intended for terror and protection.—To settle therefore a thorough impartiality in the laws, both as to their end and execution, is a task worthy of human wisdom, as it would be the cause and standard of civil felicity.

GORDON.

ROM the general view taken of the corn trade in my last paper, this conclusion may certainly be drawn, *that when we have plenty at home, without any considerable demand for exportation, it cannot be long supported at dear rates, as the monopoly will be too heavy for any conjunctive capitals in the kingdom to sustain.*

Yet may it be urged that such is the case at present. I allow it so: but insist that from the nature of things it is impossible long to continue, even should no powerful remedy be applied: which I however hope, and have to propose, may be done.

The wealth acquired by dealers in that commodity, from their extortions of late, seems to have so infatuated their minds, that no less than the accumulation of all the property in the nation appears capable of satiating their greediness for gain. Their phrenzy is of a South-Sea nature, and will probably end, as that did, in their own ruin. Should they deservedly fall the victims of their rash pursuits and rapacious desires, they will not merit, nor can they hope to meet, compassion from the injured beholders of their overthrow: for their machinations at present have so much turpitude in them as to excite general indignation, and warrant all the legal severity of public resentment.

The great profits made by substantial farmers in the twelve months past by the excessive prices that corn bore, has put ready money enough

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into their pockets to prevent their being necessitated speedily to part with the produce of the last harvest, in order either to pay their rents, or supply the expence of tillage for the coming year: nay, many of those who were wealthy before, have so greatly enhanced their capitals, as to be enabled to join with other engrossers, who alike benefited by the scarcity they all contributed to make, to purchase the quantities poorer growers might be obliged to part with, and thereby establish the monopoly that is at present so grievous. But as the power of disbursements must have limit, quantities will so accumulate on their hands, as, in the end, to make the very weight of their engagements weigh the commodity down, and they themselves thereby be caught in their own snare. This effect another plentiful crop, at least, would naturally produce: but as the public might greatly suffer from the slow operations of time only, the applications of swifter-working art are made necessary immediately to counter-work their contrivances, and facilitate the cure of the evil they have created.

That our wheat is rarely, if ever, safely exportable at above thirty shillings a quarter, Bear-key price, all merchants must declare who have any knowledge of the business. The rumour therefore that has been spread of late, of draughts of it from us for France, can be no other than the dreams of ignorance or the falsehoods of faction. For if that kingdom really was in want, which does not appear to be the case, she might have secured from the Baltic, in neutral bottoms, any quantity she wanted at little more than half the price she must be forced to pay for it to us. From exportation, then, we can have no grounds to dread a diminution of our stock: and surely our distilleries cannot be so immensely increased within a couple of years as to leave us, by their consumption, in want of bread-corn from a plentiful harvest: of which, before that time, the kingdom was reckoned in one very good crop to produce enough for our own supply for two, if not three years.

On conviction then, that our wheat is not naturally exportable at more than thirty shillings a quarter, and also that the prosperity of our useful arts and manufactures requires that it should never be at forty, I trust every wise man will agree with me, that we should limit our bounty on exportation of it to the market price of thirty-five shillings per quarter, instead of forty, to which it is at present extended. This will effectually stop the exportation at a higher price: and when the draught ceases for abroad, if it continues to rise, it must be from one of these two causes, namely, an actual want; or a combination of the growers or engrossers of it, for oppressive and extortionate profit: to prevent the ill effects, in either case, of which, the only wise, speedy and adequate remedy is immediate importation.

I therefore humbly propose, that no bounty, in future, be granted on wheat at above thirty-five shillings per quarter, market price and Bear-key measure: and that when it shall rise to the rate of forty-shillings or upwards, per quarter in that market, and so continue for three successive market days, that a discretionary power be lodged in the crown for then opening, by proclamation,

mation, the several ports of the kingdom, for the reception of foreign corn free of duty, for the space of six months; to be renewable in the same manner at the expiration of that time, if found necessary; with the entire conservation of the act of navigation, if the nation be in a state of peace: but if engaged in war, then with a suspension of the restrictive clauses in that law with respect to shipping; by allowing its free importation in all neutral bottoms whatever. This general law past, and immediately carried into execution, will not only produce the desired effect for the present, but must also infallibly intimidate all schemers from attempting to oppress the public by unreasonable exactions hereafter.

However, as the distress at this time is so great as to require the surety of operation for speedy relief; if farther means for that purpose should be judged requisite, a bounty may be granted on imported corn for a limited time, which cannot fail of accomplishing the desired end. But this indulgence need only be for the present occasion; on which, from hitherto ineffectual applications, the evil has been so lastingly great: in future, it is not like soon to grow to such a pitch as to make the delegation of power for such a remedy necessary, before the parliament can be assembled for granting it.

Of these regulations no parties or persons have the least reasonable grounds to complain: as by them no man's person, property or dealings are any way endangered, affected or embarrassed. They discourage not agriculture, nor restrain liberty; being calculated to serve no other purpose than that truly good one, of saving the many from the oppressions of the few. Nor, after the removal of the calamity we at present so severely feel, is the preventive remedy proposed like to prove any other than a law *in terrorem*; as the very existence of it will probably render its execution unnecessary.

I apprehend no farther proceeding will be found requisite in the matter before us, except with regard to millers: who may, and not unreasonably, be made to give consumers the preference in grinding to dealers, even although themselves: and rates settled for the payment of them in money would be much better than their usual toll by deduction of flour: a practice that ought to have expired with the cause of its establishment: which was the want of a sufficient quantity of coin for the pay of labour as well as commodities formerly in the nation.

The trust necessary to be lodged in the crown by such a law as I have proposed, is not of a nature to afford any temptations to the abusing of it. That, therefore, can furnish no ground for objections; but as I foresee some may arise from other considerations, I shall endeavour to obviate such as appear to me most likely to be regarded.

The first and greatest that will probably be urged, is, that by leaving engrossers unrestrained liberty for dealings, we may, by their bad practices, be reduced to the necessity of making importations when the nation is in no real want of corn, and thereby the balance of trade be so affected as to lessen our stock of bullion; which will be a general and unnecessary evil.

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Such indeed would be a great, and might be a dangerous inconvenience, if exportation was not as ready for relief; but as that must follow in sure consequence, the nation, from the whole of such transactions, may possibly acquire even a considerable gain. For example, let us suppose that *England*, in a time of peace, has an hundred thousand quarters of wheat more upon hand than she would consume before the produce of the next harvest can come to market; yet, by the combination of dealers, a price is demanded for it so extortionate as to be greatly oppressive to the poor. In consequence of this the ports are laid open, and an hundred thousand quarters of foreign wheat are purchased, and brought over, as in time of peace they mostly would be, in our own shipping. In which case the national disbursement would only be for the first cost of it, which, as it would mostly come from *Dantzic, Koningsberg, Holland, or our own plantations*, would not probably exceed five and twenty shillings per quarter. This proceeding doubles our natural dead stock, while it forces our markets to decline. In the mean time, the growing crop probably promises well, and thence engrossers become greatly alarmed: the natural consequence of all which is the precipitate fall of prices; for all will hurry their sales, and the poor will reap advantages therefrom. The importers of wheat, at first gain handsomely by their adventures, by degrees make only moderate profits, and at last lose by their engagements: all of which are no objects of national regard. The people become accommodated with bread, industry grows cheerful, and government keeps unimpeached and unmolested. The prices of our several sorts of native grain gradually settle to the proportions they ought to hold for their qualities, in respect to those of other nations: perhaps sink even below them; and thereon exportation takes place. We ship not only an equivalent quantity to that brought in, but also a good part of our original surplus. The bounty secures the carriage of it to our own ships; the merchant probably makes a profit, and the nation becomes a considerable gainer upon the whole: so effectually may a public evil be removed by means likely to advance public interest, in times of peace: and in times of war, the only difference that can arise is in the article of freightage inwards; which, for many sound political-reasons, will be suffered to be earned of us by foreign neutral navigators.

Throughout the united provinces of the *Netherlands*, I think calculation gives them conjunctively but one month's subsistence of bread from their annual growth of corn. Yet there is no restraint laid on the exportation of that little they do produce. And their *Zealand* wheat, which, of soft grain, holds the next rank in estimation to our own, is as freely shipt off from that country as any other. They make corn in general, and without restriction, a great article of their trade. It is their practice to take advantage of favourable markets abroad for collecting great stores: from which plenty they eat their bread on as cheap terms as any people in Europe: and by re-exportation frequently make great profits; always finding therein employment for abundance of their shipping.

slipping. Thus does a business, which is all monopoly in that country, not only secure them plenty but profit also. And not to launch into deeper considerations of this point, I shall content myself with observing that by endeavouring to prevent engrossing among us we shall effectually disable exportation.

Another objection which I foresee, is, that our landed men may imagine their interest hurt by confining the limit for bounty on exportation; and giving room for more frequent importations than the stock of corn in the nation may often make absolutely necessary: which, at best, would be no other than a partial and selfish consideration. To expect men will be so generous in our days, as to regard the public good more than their own particular interests, experience, in all things, convinces us would be hoping a great deal too much from them. I shall therefore endeavour to disprove the opinion; and shew it is for their advantage, that corn should not bear too high a price. This conviction I shall ground on the two following considerations.

First, that the value of their estates depends no less on the flourishing of our manufactures than on the exportation of corn. This it does two ways: first by supporting the price of wool, from giving it a large expence, and thereby maintaining a greater number of people in the nation in working it up than agriculture could possibly employ; who, secondly, consume proportionably the produce in every kind of their lands; and of course greatly enhance the value of them.

The second consideration, is, the degree of estimation our corn deserves, and really holds, in the opinion of other nations: for by furnishing them with it at its due rate we can only hope for the consumption of it abroad. Of all soft grain, ours has generally the preference about five or six per cent. but hard wheat is intrinsically better than ours from twelve to twenty-five per cent. and consequently ought to sell at so much above it. A bushel of Sicily wheat, for example, produces as much flour as five pecks of ours; owing to the closeness of the grain, which is so hard as to be stony, and so free from husk as to be transparent: so that a grain of that wheat is a solid mass of pure flour, while a great deal of ours turns into bran; and from the looseness of its texture renders not in proportion to its bulk even of true flour. Now Sicily wheat seldom is at a price above seventy-two *teries per Salme*, shipped free aboard: which is about equal to seven and twenty shillings a quarter for *English*, put afloat, with the bounty to the shipper: and that is equivalent to nine and twenty shilling and six-pence in the market. Is not this a very striking disparity of price? and an undeniable proof that either lands are rented too dear with us; or the profits of our farmers too great: for exported corn is equally a monopoly in both kingdoms; and for that use must indeed be a monopoly in every country.

Our wheat I allow, in most of the southern countries has frequently obtained a forced price; owing to indolence, custom or opinion, by being used for a mixture to hard grain, from a belief that bread is the better for it. But this, observation may convince us, is but opinion. For instance,

stance, at Lisbon, where they generally have a supply of soft corn, the mixture is held essential; while at Madrid, much better bread is eaten without it; as there they never have foreign corn but in times of excessive national scarcity. We should be cautious therefore how we expose ourselves to the hazard of sacrificing an opinion so favourable to our wheat, by forcing people into a disuse of it that may be fatal, from our exorbitant exactions of price; or by stopping too long the channel of supply; as either of those means may occasion its disuse. This is a consideration well worthy of the serious attention of those gentlemen who are of, what is called, the landed interest.

It is a common cant of farmers, that wheat bears a living price for them, when it sells in the market at thirty shillings a quarter. But experience informs us, that in our times, what people usually call living prices are such as produce extravagant gains: and observation may evince that such is the case in the point at present under consideration. If an examination was to be made into the matter, I believe, for twenty years preceding the present scarcity, the farmers have as often sold their wheat under six and twenty shillings a quarter, as they have above it; and yet most good farmers have grown rich within that period of time. Some, within the scope of my own knowledge, having, I may alledge, from very small beginnings, and with the occupation of no great quantity of land, acquired fortunes therein. And six and twenty shillings a quarter, market price, is as high a medium as our corn can, or ought to have: so that fatal may be the effects of our attempting to alter it.

An objection may probably be started, that by allowing engrossing without restraint, to the price of forty shillings a quarter, the public will hazard the having of wheat always upheld to a rate very near it. But such an abuse, I must observe, is in its nature impracticable; as past experience may undeniably convince us. For as our wheat is rarely exportable at thirty shillings a quarter, and the ordinary annual produce of the kingdom greatly exceeds its consumption, the keeping it dear would heap such quantities upon monopolizers hands as would make them sink under the burthen. The government therefore need take no farther care than to prevent the hurtful effects of engrossing a small national stock, which will effectually be done by the standing law I propose: for abundance will, of itself, so operate as to defeat all fraudulent measures, by requiring such an endless supply of capital as must break the very heart of all daring combination.

Thus have I, I hope successfully, endeavoured to furnish some new and stronger lights than have hitherto been thrown on this very important enquiry. Whatever may be the result thereof, I shall at least enjoy the satisfaction of having sincerely intended the service of my country therein. Nor can I suffer myself to doubt, from the wisdom of the Legislature, as much candour in their consideration of my proposals, as I have shewn for the rights and interests of all parties, as well as for the good of the public, in this ample discussion of my subject.

THE HERALD, OR Patriot-Proclaimer,

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XIV.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER, 15, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

There is no safety where there is no strength, no strength without union, no union without justice, no justice where faith and truth in accomplishing public and private engagements are wanting.

SIDNEY.

HE accurately-observing Montesquieu says, very justly, that honour is the strengthening principle of monarchies, and virtue that of commonwealths; an opinion that reason leads to the allowance of, and observation indeniably proves. I may hereafter discuss these points perhaps at large, by examining the principles of governments, antient and modern, and evincing their effects. But it is my design at present only to speak of virtue; and shew how necessary the existence of it is for the preservation of liberty.

Of all virtues, the love of our country is the noblest: and suitable to the dignity of it are the effects it produces. Never was any free state prosperous but from virtue, never glorious but when partial regards were made subordinate to patriot affection.

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The love of our country is not only allowed to include but also to supersede (where their interests separate and clash) the paternal, filial, fraternal and social regards. These passions, however amiably tender in general, are often narrow and frail, nay sometimes guilty (as cases might be proposed, in which it would be meritorious for a son to slay his own father) and however lovely they all are, under a right regulation, in domestic life; in the concerns of our country they are to give way to public good: and that man is the most glorious, who, when need and justice require it, makes the greatest sacrifices of them to general welfare.

What but the magnanimous spirit of patriotism made *Sparta* happy, powerful and renowned? Self-denial and a contempt for unworthy gratifications, were the foundation-principles of all their national greatness. Read we, even in our days of degeneracy, without the highest admiration and applause, of mothers who renounced their sons, and wives their husbands, for having injured or dishonoured their country?

Timoleon, who had no other way of rescuing a people from oppression than by destroying his own brother, who had commenced their tyrant, submitted fraternal affection to patriot zeal; and by accomplishing with natural reluctance that glorious act, has had his fame honourably transmitted down to us, with the applause of ages and of nations.

How venerably great to all conceptions does the sage, mild, sedately-just and self-suffering *Aristides* appear! who would not permit even his own honour to stand in competition with his country's happiness and quiet. To add to these examples is unnecessary. But such were the glorious principles that founded, exalted and supported the *Grecian* states.

If we examine the annals of *Rome*, the greatest commonwealth and most illustrious people that ever existed upon earth, we shall find the same virtues operating to like ends, from the same exalted motives. The elder *Brutus*, who was the founder and father of the republic, even in the infancy of liberty, had the unhappiness to be exposed to the severest trial of heroism. His two sons, the only children he had, were drawn into a treasonable conspiracy against the state, for the wicked subversion of freedom and restoration of tyranny; the blackest and most atrocious of crimes! No man was equally injured with their unhappy father by their offence. He had been particularly wronged as well as personally ill-treated by the *Tarquins*: was himself of royal extraction; and had waived his own regal rights as well as overthrown those of others, from a love for mankind; to found a legal and equitable government. Consequently he, above all others, from a re-subjection, had to apprehend encountering the severest indignation and revenge. Such was the unpardonable guilt of the sons: which from the greatness of his mind and parental affection, there is no doubt to be entertained but the father would personally have forgiven. But as senior-consul, chief magistrate, and

and guardian of the state, he was to become their judge: and there the father of the criminals could not separate himself from the parent of the community. Examples were of necessity to be made, for public security. And could the judge who absolved his own children, honourably sentence those of other men? Or, from partial frailty, was public justice to be defeated, and general safety rendered precarious? No: honour, truth and fortitude, which ought to forbid, interposed to prevent it. He sat upon their trials, saw them legally convicted, and like a Roman judge delivered them up to justice; giving therein a glorious example to his colleague, who had relations of his own to try for the same offence; and such an example of virtuous integrity to his country, as long secured it from all attempts of a like kind; invigorated it with that honour which afterwards raised it to so consummate a pitch of glory and power; and sanctified thereby, his own fame to everlasting veneration.

Nor was so exalted a precedent without its striking effects on patriot minds, even to the expiring gasps of Roman liberty. The services of *Mankius*, in saving the *capitol*, extenuated not the guilt of his posterior conspiracy. No exploits, no interests of particulars, were for a long time permitted to stand in competition with public justice and happiness. When *Appius Claudius*, at the head of the *decemvirate*, had treacherously first, and then forcibly, engrossed the whole power of the state, and apparently aimed at establishing sovereign authority in himself; his own uncle *Caius*, who was no less interested in the glory of the *Claudian* family, suffered no partial regards for his own house to influence his acquiescing in the aggrandizing thereof, to the general prejudice: and therefore, as full of virtue as he was of years, he generously quitted the retreat he had chosen to wear the last stage of life out in, at the powerful persuasion of honour: and, having in vain endeavoured to prevail with his nephew to relinquish his odious ascendancy, worthily abetted a confederacy for his overthrow; which his own rashness and insolence of guilt soon furnished them with an occasion for accomplishing, and for the restoring of antient discipline, and their constitutional administration of government. Prior to this memorable occurrence, we read of many illustrious instances of patriot virtue: but of none more to our point than that of the good old *Cassius*, who not only sentenced but even executed a son for his abuse of consular power and plunder of public wealth.

No man should presume to judge of Roman justice but from Roman principles. Therefore whoever ventures to decide against the last truly virtuous commonwealth's-man of that illustrious people, which was *Marcus Brutus*, for his stabbing of *Cæsar*; on the accusation of obligation for favours he had received from him; shews himself influenced therein by very false and dangerous principles. No man is to be obliged out of the regard that it is his duty, beyond all others, to have for his country.

country. The interests of society supersede all private ties and connections whatever. But what favours could the virtuous *Brutus* have received from *Cæsar*? His life, after the action of *Pbarsalia*? To whom had he forfeited it, for fighting with the senate and sovereign authority of the state, against a man who, by passing the Rubicon with an armed force, was, by a standing law, devoted to the infernal gods, and pronounced a traitor, and the enemy of his country? No: it was insolence in *Cæsar* to pretend a merit from such clemency: and for other obligations, the moderate *Brutus* neither wanted or required them. But had he received the greatest of him, had he even owed him the duty of a son, they were all cancelled by *Cæsar's* assumed tyranny: and it became an obligation on *Brutus*, superior to all others, to destroy, by every means in his power, the oppressive violator of his own birth-rights, and the patricidal butcherer of the Roman constitution. But corruption had so disabled all virtue among the people, that they were incapable then of sustaining, or even after of recovering their freedom. *Brutus* dispatched *Cæsar* but to follow him himself: he struggled but to sink in the cause of liberty. And what ensued? Reflect, O my countrymen! on the prescriptions, the massacres, the trampling tyrannies of imperial monsters in human shapes! the loss of all virtue, security and happiness! with the gradual decension of universal power, to the lowest degrees of imbecility, and even to utter annihilation.

Such were the effects of steady, such the consequences of relaxed discipline and virtue. So nations, no less wise and far more great and powerful than our own, have, long ago, past away and are no more. Perhaps I may hereafter represent the miserable condition of those communities around us, who are forwarder in the race to slavery and wretchedness than we are. Of the various bodies of people derived from the same stock with ourselves, we are almost the only one, at present, in possession of that rational liberty which all originally enjoyed. Frauds, dissensions and corruptions, the decrease of public virtue and increase of private rapine, have been the fatal and sure-working causes of their overthrow. Let us timely take example from their degeneracy, to avoid such dreadful effects from it, as they now sorrowfully, but in vain, lament; or our passions and appetites will so disable reason and virtue, that it will be ~~ever~~ beyond the power of a *Brutus* or a *Cato* to save us.

All free states prosper and grow great by the single principle of public love. Patriot affection produces union and creates worthy emulation; by which only they can become or continue mighty. All individuals then contribute to one great end, which gives happiness and security to the whole; and which promotes those generous passions that enoble them in the eyes of beholders, and effectually endear them to one another. But when the love of their country becomes subordinate to partial regards and the too-arduous pursuits of private interest, feuds, di-



THE
H E R A L D,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By S T E N T O R T E L L T R U T H, Esq.

NUMBER XV.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER, 22, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

Virtue! without thee,

There is no ruling eye, no nerve, in states;

War has no vigour, and no safety peace:

Even Justice warps to party, laws oppress,

Their weak authority protects no more,

First broke the balance, and then scorn'd the sword:

Thus Nations sink.

THOMSON.

To the HERALD, &c.

SIR,

INVOLVED as we are in a dangerous war, and unsuccessful in the carrying of it on in three of the four parts of the world, (for such has actually been and is the case in Europe, Africa and America) our political attention is almost entirely directed to the news imported, from time to time, by the Holland mails, concerning the military operations of the magnanimous King of Prussia; whose spirited proceedings and heroic exploits are indeed the glory of the present times; and will deservedly be the admiration of future ages.

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The diversion given by his arms to our natural and inveterate enemies, is perhaps an accidental advantage to which we are indebted for our safety. French policy has luckily over-shot its mark, in marching such a force into Germany as disables them for improving (at least so much as they certainly would otherwise do) the superiority our ill conduct more than their national strength evidently gives them over us.

Thus does our security (and I wish from a prospect of reaping any I could say success) depend at present on our keeping firm in our union with that heroic monarch. But we should remember that his objects are the security of the German constitution and his own dominions. As soon as his arms obtain him satisfaction in those points, the war in the empire will cease of course; and France, who is only an auxiliary power therein, must withdraw her forces, as she probably will be glad to do, to exert her full power in her national war with us; for the event of which we must wholly depend on ourselves; having no ally whatever engaged with us therein: nor is there any likelihood of any one's taking part with us in that quarrel.

While therefore our national enemies are, for us, so luckily embarrassed by a false step which they have taken in politics, it highly behoves us to make some daring efforts for the timely acquisition of such advantages in our own war, as may secure us the means of getting honourably out of it; not to be exposed to the future hazard of a separate contention, for which a kind of fated-misconduct seems to make us unequal.

Who then can help despising our eager gazing after redemption from abroad, while nothing is more evident than that our deliverance must almost solely be wrought at home. German affairs are indeed become, from the circumstances of things, essentially collateral to our interests; but far from being direct and entire to them. The victories effectually to serve us must be achieved either in America or on the ocean: Prussia may be prosperous while Britain is undone.

I have often pursued, in my own imagination, a strong parallel betwixt the characters and exploits of the royal hero of the present age and our highly renowned Edward the black Prince, who once shone like a sun in our British hemisphere, surrounded by the brightest constellations of nobles. But the reflection ever shocked me, by leading to the melancholy consideration that England only was what Brandenbourg now is: a country where military glory equals the lustre of the most distinguished æras of antiquity; where the whole assemblage of virtues shine eminently forth; where justice is purged from all the pollutions of corrupt practice; where genius is illustriously distinguished; and merit honourably rewarded; where the sciences flourish under royal influence, and the ornamental

ornamental and useful arts are cultivated with patriot assiduity and care. While with us, the reverse of all these are remarkably conspicuous: where cowardice, dishonour, vice, folly, fraud, rapine, corruption, luxury, ignorance, indolence, presumption and imposture, bear equal and dishonourable sway.

Plunged as we are in a dangerous and difficult wat, with the lower orders of people among us driven even to desperation from want, is there one idle amusement unattended to? one folly suffered to die? one iniquity corrected? one national undertaking successful? like Rome, in the last stages of her degeneracy, we are suffering silly pleasures and sordid pursuits to destroy all the noble qualities of the mind and heart, and narrow our souls into an unworthiness for national independence and civil liberty.

Machiavel, I think, observes that no bodies of people, any more than particular men, can be totally bad or good: and indeed the observation requires not the sanction of so able a politician; it being sufficiently open to the most moderate comprehension. We must therefore estimate the worth of the former, as we do of the latter, by the general weighing of good qualities against bad ones; and pronounce from the preponderating scale in the experiment. In the ages of the most exalted heroism and virtue, we are not to suppose that individuals were all alike perfect, or, on the contrary, in the days of degeneracy, that all are alike vitiated. There were vile citizens among the Romans at the founding of their commonwealth, as there were gloriously virtuous ones at the time of its overthrow. The only difference was, that the majorities had changed qualities. An adherence to the laws of justice and honour put an end to the tyranny of the Tarquins: a too prevailing dissoluteness of principles and manners established a far more hateful despotism in the Cæsars. Liberty, let me here observe, may take a natural progres to licentiousness: but from a thorough corruption of morals a people rarely or never recover; they decline in power as in goodness, and are generally subjugated or extirminated by some people arising from the state of natural barbarism. Such has hitherto been the fate of the most distinguished nations of the world. And such will probably be the end of those at present existing in it.

Our fore-fathers were glorious because they were public spirited: they were respected because they were feared, feared because they were serious, serious because virtuous. Virtue united them; and from unity they derived their strength. Under our Edward's and Henry's, they frequently chastized, and once conquered France. They were commonly victorious without allies; and against a nation who had generally a great many, and whose native armies had infinitely superior numbers. When Queen Elizabeth

zabeth was menaced with, and even attacked by, the memorable Armada which the Spaniards proudly stiled invincible, on whom did she rely, and by what overcome it, but the fortitude and valour of her virtuous and magnanimous subjects? what would that great princess, her ministers or warriors have said (had they been alive) of our late national terror for an apprehended invasion in flat-bottomed vessels? and what to our gazing after redemption from a warlike prince and people, who are fighting their own battles, and not so much as engaged as auxiliaries in ours; while on our national arms falls nothing but disappointment, defeat and disgrace?

It is true there are some men among us attentive to public welfare, and others who discover an intrepidity in action that does them honour: but they are few, alas, very few in number. The many are drowned in an inundation of sordid pleasures and rapacious pursuits, while the bulk of those whose duty it is to exert themselves in their country's cause, are most busied in contriving how to plunder instead of serving the state, in abusing of employments instead of honourably executing them.

While we were great in arms we were equally so in wisdom, in virtue, in science! and no age, till the present, in our nation was without instances of exalted geniuses every way. The last æra of our glory was the reign of Queen Anne: when, with illustrious warriors, we had scientific worthies of every kind. Where are their equals in our days? who are the objects of admiration among us now? the estimator of the manners and principles of the times, is pleased to single out a player for the glory of our degenerate age; who is monopolizing theatrical profits, suppressing nobler genius, and, upon the recommendation of such writers, engrossing all public regard; nay, *what does a recent discovery tell us of court favour also?*

Whence is it, that even in our most favourite diversion we see no abilities displayed, where so much encouragement might be expected by writers who would honour us in the eyes of neighbouring nations and of posterity, but from the vile engrossings of craft in a partial governing power of our theatres; where every thing is made, as in all other affairs, to give way to the sordid interests of a rapacious particular; who by trick and cunning corrupts our national taste, misleads generosity, and attracts universal attachment, by elbowing all rival or superior merit from public knowledge or regard, for the sake of heaping up such immense wealth as is, every way, a mischief and dishonour to the community?

Can any man read the theatrical disquisitions of garret scribblers, in the poultry compilations of *Chronicles* and *Magazines*, without detecting the ascendancy of leaders in a diversion that can only in

a subordinate degree be either eligible or durable. Within these few weeks past, one of those panegyrists, whose dirty hire may be supposed an occasional order to see a play gratis, was pleased to say, he held it a prophanation to decorate the mighty *Rofcius* with ordinary trophies of glory. The next exalted strain of towering adulation may probably be to pronounce it blasphemy! For what have we farther to do than, like the thoroughly corrupted Romans, to deify those who make beasts of us. Of a like nature are the consolatory articles of news in public papers, on our hearing of national disasters, *that DROMIO is judged by his physicians to be out of danger, or DULCINEA will be able to perform on such a night.*

These are the comforts, the satisfactions, that we worthily solace ourselves withall in the times of general danger, dishonour and distress. Should the public be told that the brave Capt. Lockhart, who, with hazard, hardships, and fatigue, has done his country such signal service, was killed in an engagement with our national enemies, a public sigh would hardly be bestowed upon him. But should Rofcius (who in an admired ode on himself has modestly considered all women to be in love with him, and all men to be his angry envyers) but feel a slight dejection of spirits, what illustrious levies would crowd? what cards and messages be sent? what eager enquiries be made after him throughout the town? and how general a terror and consternation would there be spread!

Can such considerations fail of awaking in sensible minds a remembrance of the fatal effects of so fascinating a phrenzy among the Romans; who suffered all their love of virtue, of glory and of freedom, to resolve into a ridiculous zeal for partizans in the *circus* and performers in the *theatres*; while they tamely suffered the yoke of slavery to be rivetted on their abject and dishonourable necks. Nay, so high did the detestable folly reach, that the imperial monsters, who transformed themselves into He and She-deities; and so trampled on the rights, dignity and spirit of Romans, as to appoint a horse for their Consul, and even murder men for daring to be virtuous or happy in private; sigh'd amidst the pomps of universal sway, from envy at the glory of racers and actors, and emulously became candidates in their professions for renown.

Vain and absurd would be our expectation, that the King of Prussia; when he has accomplished his own deliverance, should turn a *Don Quixote* and fight our battles, in a war that he has nothing to do with. No: we must depend on our own endeavours for the acquiring of our national ends. To accomplish which we should take example from his dominions: where all the noble qualities of the mind and heart are fully and most eminently

nently displayed. He saw himself no sooner exposed to dangers, than he wisely prohibited public diversions; and by giving a serious turn to the minds of his people, prepared them for the duties on which his success and their own safety depended.

If therefore there is any latent spark of honour remaining in our hearts, let us manfully rouse ourselves to shake off the enfeebling thraldom of pleasure. Let us resolve to hate such as plunder, and heartily despise such as offer to impose upon us. Let us take example from those whom we cannot but rationally admire, and become strong by being truely wise and virtuous: as by such means only we can shew ourselves worthy of the blessings of all kinds that we enjoy, be enabled to extricate ourselves front the dangers and difficulties we are involved in, recover our national reputation, and transmit, as it is our duty to do, our constitutional rights to posterity.

I am, SIR,

Your humble servant,

PUBLICUS.



THE
HERALD,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XVI.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER, 29, 1757.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

The abuses of mortgaging are certain and Inevitable; poverty, impotence and subjection to foreign powers.

HUME.

IT is said a great man has declared, that there is hardly a hope left to this nation for safety but from *Public Credit*, and to what events a farther free use thereof leads, any wise man may readily determine who justly considers it, as he ought, to have been the origin or source of all our present misfortunes.

Public debts have produced a new species of riches every way hurtful to the community. On an enormity of taxes to erect an unbounded influence, wicked ministers have, for many years past, been contriving by fallacies to make the estates of the kingdom carry double; that is by a mortgage of land and labour to create an immense money property, or rather a paper one; for the money they have from time to time spent and given out of the nation. Thus have our natural riches been made in appearance double, while in fact they were actually diminishing, just as much as our land and labour are engaged for VOL. I. Q. ta

to foreigners: and at home we have set two families to spending what one only shou'd do. But as the double property has created a double luxury, while the delusion can be supported, the advanced prices therefrom of all our natural products has so improved in appearance our solid property, that the burthen has been rendered in some measure insensible; and administrations have been enabled to play their iniquitous game securely, principally by dozing the public into such a stupefaction as to make them as heedless as they were themselves regardless of consequences.

To strengthen government and secure the protestant succession on the throne, have been their specious pleas for such dangerous and deceitful measures. Before I proceed therefore to other considerations, I shall take the liberty to examine those arguments, and expose the false principles upon which they are urged and supported.

First, as to the strengthening of government. If by government they mean as they ought to do, the crown; I think nothing is more evident than that is weakened by such measures. Weakened in the virtue, the affections, and the numbers of people at home; and in the eyes of foreign nations, in our loss of discipline, vigour, the resources for war, and consequently for defence. All of which certainly must, and already do, operate to our disgrace and towards our ruin. If by government is meant a faction, powerful enough to dictate to the crown, and overbear, at the same time that they plunder, the people; I grant the end has in a good measure been obtained by such means: for by preserving or enhancing the necessity of great levies on the people, they have supported and increased their influence; from the means of gratifying formidable numbers of dependants: yet this evil to a state, like all others, must have its period; for limit to corruption there can be none. Progression is natural: it must from necessity increase, to a degree too intolerable to be borne: and bring our constitution to such a crisis as must be fatal to such a kind of sway. Of this certain effect, some late administrations could not have been ignorant: but their views and operations in all things have been manifestly narrow: they have thought and hoped of government, as other selfish people have done of the funds, for its preservation only for their own time; leaving their successors and posterity to struggle for themselves; and either sink or swim as chance or their abilities might determine the matter.

The Protestant succession, at its first establishment, had undoubtedly some difficulties to struggle with, principally the prepossessions of prejudice and idle opinion concerning indefeasible hereditary-right; which (contrary as it is to the spirit of rational liberty,

liberty, our national practice, and occasionally that of all others in the world) having a kind of specious plea, was by designing men made to operate for a time, with no inconsiderable strength, on vulgar and bigotted minds. But the experienced blessings of legal government (of which we were so often attempted to be robbed by the tyrannical house of Stuart) the timely rescuing of our endangered religion, its full enjoyment, along with the sober exercise of reason, have long ago removed that fascination from the minds of the public. So that parties ought now to be looked upon in no other light than as rivals for power or interest. That is, men of genius, of all sides, for the great employments of state; and men of large fortunes, for the specific interests of their respective properties. Ministers therefore no less deceive their sovereign than abuse the public by misrepresenting facts that their own bad practices have most contributed to create. For their party proceedings have founded those discontents they have constantly availed themselves of, for the establishing of their power; while they extended their influence, by means that have burthened the nation, and for a long time dishonoured and debilitated the crown; especially in its operations with foreign states. Among whom we have had little influence but by our money, and rarely any respect shewed us even for that.

But in proportion as government at home gathers attachments by the encrease of the monied interest, it perhaps more than proportionably loses them in those of the landed and laborious; who cannot but repine at the unnatural affluence sustained by the numerous stock-holders of the nation; and principally the latter, who are so oppressed by taxes for the support of it. The pretended bond of security that it gives is therefore all a chimera: and its augmentation and even support may prove the greatest danger that the illustrious family at present upon the throne are ever like to encounter or apprehend. For the evil, if continued, is of such a nature as must bring our constitution to a struggle: and what the event of combustion may be, there is no man can pretend to foretell.

Should this nation suffer any essential loss of her colonies, or any farther considerable diminution of her trade of exports, how, let me ask, are the means to be furnished for the support of this shadowy and unsubstantial property? Can it be imagined that the gentlemen of the landed interest will contribute the rents or produce of their estates, and become destitute themselves, for the regular payment of dividends? Or do they imagine that the people will be negligent of self defence, from their scrupulous regard for the proprietors of public funds? Vain imagination! For, in such an emergence, a nation will undoubtedly plead its rights of minority to cancel all contracts and engagements for its immediate pre-

preservation. *And the folly of our statesmen* (says the ingenious Mr. Hume) *must be greater than the folly of those who first contracted debt, or, what is more, than that of those who trusted, or continue to trust this security, if these statesmen have the means of safety in their bands, and do not employ them.* Nay, I will proceed farther, and fearlessly assert, that, at such a time, they will be wicked ministers not to do it, in proportion as they neglect the safety of millions to secure, at all events, the welfare of thousands.

But supposing no calamity should happen to us from abroad, farther than what must be consequent of increasing taxes, which are gradual decreases of exports and the number of our people (evils that we already experience) and with a slow diminution of our real riches and strength there should be as gradual an increase of our encumbrances; what must of necessity follow? The means of honourably extricating our national circumstances will be lost. The funds of supply will fail of answering the purposes of their institution, and the nation become incapable of substituting others to make up the deficiencies, as well as, perhaps, of supporting the necessary public operations. Will, in such a case, those of the monied interest contentedly see their property essentially wounded, or entirely endangered? Or will they not think the landed gentlemen shoud suffer in proportion with them, and compromise the sufferings with the alienation of a part of their estates? But what might be the issue of contentions thereon? And contentions are sure to be apprehended. An ambitious and intriguing prince would probably so balance the parties as to play them off against one another, and endeavour to avail himself of their animosities, to enslave the nation. To effect which purpose he will probably first weaken the landed interest, and then annihilate the monied: for no government will remain with an embarrassing encumbrance that can possibly shake it off. This is perhaps the most favourable turn that we can hope affairs may take at such a crisis: for should actual tumult and confusion arise thereon, as it is not unreasonable to suppose may be the case, there is no saying to what extent mischiefs might operate, or where they would end. The crown itself may be overborne by popular fury; the succession violated, if not lost; and the nation perhaps be subjected by a foreign power; while with our civil liberties our religion becomes entirely destroyed. These are the gaping gulps before us, towards which we have suffered ourselves, by blind credulity and heedless inconsideration, to be led: and from which we must hastily return, or the difficulties of escape will increase upon us.

To enumerate the evils of our national debt, would be to recount almost all the dangers, follies and iniquities of the times. To that unnatural and unsolid wealth, our luxury is undoubtedly owing: for the dangerous excess thereof took root and has grown

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up with it. The readiness of investitures of money in such property is no less the foundation of that spirit of rapine which, I may say, riots to enormity in the nation. To the methods of securing so much individual income as will subserve them, so many people of limited fortunes are encouraged to choose a life of idleness and celibacy, to the support and encouragement of trifling and pernicious amusements, and to the emasculating of the minds of men, by turning them from honourable to unworthy objects: for people who have nothing to contrive but how to kill time, and make the most of an insignificant life, are the seducers of others from the great duties of society; and therein the most pestilent poisoners of the manners and principles of a community: insomuch that if all such, with their paper or their money, were to be selected and thrown into the sea, the nation would be benefitted by their destruction. It prevents likewise the exertion of conjoined capitals, obtained by honest industry, from being employed to purposes the most useful to the public; while it also fails even the strength and vitals of our constitutional and national power, by enervating our minds as well as bodies, and disabling us for all spirited and patriot duty.

I know of no one real advantage whatever that can be fairly said to arise from our national debt; for that assigned by Mr. Hume, in his considerations of this subject, is absolutely without the least foundation: namely, that it assists commerce by enabling merchants to keep such stocks of money at command as may be requisite for occasional great undertakings. Whereas nothing is more certain than that we had much greater merchants and commercial undertakers before public debts were contracted than are at present to be found among us. Nor is there a necessity of public funds for merchants to employ money that they want to have at command for an emergence: as exchanging, discounting, and many other trading practices would fully answer that purpose. Besides, a man's eminent dealings and engagements abroad and at home give him very powerful personal credit. Mr. Sutton, for example, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, engrossed the capital of the bank of Genoa, with no other resource: and I could instance almost as great occasional undertakings by people of the present age, made both abroad and at home, upon the same foundations: all such suppositions, therefore, was in that author, a conceding of more than his subject, in truth, required of him.

At the conclusion of the late war, France was encouraged to an increase of her American encroachments by an opinion that our public debts would disable us for recommencing hostilities; and to that opinion we are solely beholden for our present embroils. I know, from the best authority, that while our late reduction of interest was depending, their ministry held it to be a measure that

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was impracticable for ours to carry into execution : and that they were confounded on finding themselves mistaken therein. The discovery perhaps came too late to prevent the ill effects of measures, they had planned and probably ordered into execution, in consequence of their first supposition ; which possibly they may have since been sorry for having done. However, let it serve to make us sensible of the dangers we involve ourselves in by encranging such encumbrances and entanglements : all nations are attentive to our circumstances, and will be disposed to take every advantage therefrom, that the unhappiness of their situation may encourage.

England has not perhaps experienced a more disadvantageous balance of trade in any year, for near half a century past, than she has done in the present. And yet what do we hear of the immense sums offered, and the manner it is done in, towards a new subscription for the government loan of the approaching year ! Does not this incontrovertibly verify my hypothesis in a former paper, that our great debt is, like a monster, bloting from an internal distemper ? That it is only paper growing out of paper, swelled up by public and private rapine : In which, such new aerial estates are however forming as if suffered to continue growing, must eat out our solid inheritance of land and labour ; and by increasing all the evils I have now mentioned, compleat our national destruction. I know that this is no time for a reformation to be fully wrought in : Yet some preparatory corrections may sure be attempted. Abuses in office and the misapplications of public money are the first needful preventions to be thought of. Luxury then must be bled at every vein ; and thereby the motives to rapine be in some measure removed. Reason must be aided in the recovery of her rightful ascendancy over our passions : When now-dazzled Britons will behold their great interests in a true medium of light : They will be convinced that moderate acquisitions, with national liberty, strength and security, are preferable to enormous ones at the hazard, or with the loss, of those public blessings ; without the enjoyment of which, in any rank whatever, or with any degree of fortune however secured, neither themselves or their posterity can be truly honourable or happy.



THE H E R A L D, OR Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XVII.

THURSDAY, JANUARY, 5, 1758.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

There is a strange ~~supineness~~, from long custom, crept into all ranks of men with regard to public debts, not unlike what divines so vehemently complain of with regard to their religious doctrines.

HUME.

NO minister of state has ever been hardy enough to declare openly that our national debt was not dangerous as well as inconvenient to the public. It is true some of their instruments, who had no reputation to hazard, have, and perhaps by their direction, endeavoured to sophisticate reason in so bad a cause; and in so doing may have contributed to perplex judgments that they wanted the honesty or abilities to enlighten. The minister who might have discharged those incumbrances, and did not, was himself the inventor of the sinking fund; the wisest measure that could be thought of for that good Purpose. This he often boasted of, even to a degree of vain glory; which shew's what his pretensions in public, at least, were; and perhaps his abilities were tasked in nothing more than in secretly contriving how to render the scheme he appeared openly so proud of, abortive: but his suc-

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fors have even mortgaged that fund, which was founded for our redemption.

His motives for such a proceeding are easily comprehended; and have been sufficiently commented upon in the course of these productions. But the evil, since his time, has so greatly increased upon us, that its hurtful effects are become apparent, and its fatal tendencies now so clearly seen, that I hold enlargement to be unnecessary thereon; and therefore shall content myself, at present, with but simply instancing the greatest of them.

Our national debt, in times of peace, occasions taxes too burdensome to the poor: and it raises the prices of labour and materials, to the weakening of our foreign commerce; by sending our commodities dearer to market than those of rival nations.

By the difficulties and hazards it brings upon government, in times of war, it distresses and embarrasses administrations. And in times of imminent, or imaginary danger, it exposes the nation to the depredations of merciless plunderers, and even to the risk of constitutional confusion.

It creates a property and dependance that throws a civil power into the hands of ministers, which may endanger liberty, at the same time that it exposes the crown to hazards, from popular resentment and the terrible efforts of desperation.

It lessens our power and importance in the opinion of foreign nations: tempts our great natural enemy to continual encroachments; and weakens the reliance that friendly powers should have on us for assistance, either in their own immediate, or a common contingent cause.

It opens a dangerous drain of bullion from the kingdom, in the remitting of dividends; making us thereby pay a kind of dependent tribute to other countries; to the impoverishing of ourselves and the enriching of them.

It lessens the figure and security of our commerce, by withdrawing powerful capitals therefrom; and turns that application which otherwise would be exerted for the improvement and extension of trade, to the oppressing of it, either by plundering dealings with the government, or by engraving such stocks into a species of artificial riches as becomes burdensome to solid property, and an encumbrance on labour and traffic.

It enables those in the secret of affairs, with their tools and dependants, to cheat the innocent and unwary, by occasionally availing themselves of those passions which the circumstances of affairs or their own craft may inspire them with; to the accumulation of such over proportions of property into a few hands as may enable them to oppress and endanger the community.

It multiplies idle and unprofitable people to the state, in officers, tax gatherers and stock-holders, and thereby encourages celibacy, luxury and vice.

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The enormity of taxations along with the extravagance promoted by artificial riches, and the numbers of people taken into government employ, are discouragements to matrimony; and therein the means of lowering our national power, by lessening the bulk of our people. Another evil is, that the metropolis, by being the Scene of all money transactions as well as of government, and I may say, of pleasure, draws to it too great a flux of people, to the draining of the provinces, even while commerce is shifting her stations to other parts of the kingdom: which is actually the case, to a remarkable degree.

A continual encrease of artificial property, creates an unbounded spirit of rapine in one part of the people, and as unlimited a profusion and heedless dissipation in the other: fatal sources alike of the enfeebling follies and destructive vices that reign among us. Had we none but solid riches, we should have more virtue and greater national strength; and the blessings of life would be more equally distributed, and more generally enjoyed than at present. If too much real wealth debauches and ruins a people, as observation must convince us, has always been, and ever will be, the case; how much faster must an enormous creation of shadowy property hasten a kingdom to its downfall? To be satisfied of the effects thereof among us, we need but compare our military operations with those of many other nations; or the present spirit of our country, with that of the ages prior to the era of our adopting so fatal a plan of policy. A scheme we first borrowed from the Dutch, who are themselves ruined by it; as we, by persevering therein, inevitably must be.

Wise and honest men have, from the first foundation of the evil, foreseen and foretold the destructive effects of it. But ministers have been such bad men, that, for their own temporary ends, they have industriously contrived pleas, of necessity, without a just foundation, for palliating proceedings that reason and fair argument could not defend: so that the crown and public safety have been exposed to danger, that combinations of cosmopolitans might thrive upon rapine from the innocent and meritorious. Public virtue has been laughed out of countenance, and public honour persecuted, that associated betrayers might be successful in thievery. Who amongst us has not heard of a daring corrupter, that boasted, *Every man in the nation had his price*, and of a tyrant in power, who had the impudence to declare in an awful assembly, upon an enquiry's being made why some worthy men were dismissed from their employments in the service of their King and Country, *That he thought a minister of state would be a pitiful fellow indeed that did not turn every man out who was not obedient to his orders?* That is, WHO DID NOT SACRIFICE HIS CONSCIENCE IN A LEGISLATIVE CAPACITY TO HIS INTERESTS-

RESTS IN CIVIL EMPLOYMENT. Hence have our national union, strength, virtue, honour, security and welfare been destroyed : and hence do we derive the prevailing fraud, infidelity, imbecility and infamy, that we now so signally suffer from and lament.

Partial regards, like the lean kine in Pharaoh's vision, have eat up all the more valuable and noble passions of the human heart. A patriot affection for the community, has been long a reproach from the tongues and a scoff in the mouths of faction and its leaders. When the worthy *Sir Joseph Jekyl* was discovered, from a generous regard for the safety and happiness of three kingdoms, to have bequeathed a great part of the fortune he had personally acquired to a fund for the redemption of our public inheritance ; the encumbering of which he perceived threatened every species of ruin to his country. I say, when the partizans of corruption and prostitution, saw a precedent set so dangerous to their interests, and so destructive to their darling system, they employed all their vile instruments, to ridicule so generous a principle, and to decry, as an injustice to particulars, the noblest act of patriotism that the friend of mankind, the affectionate member of a community, could perform. People were taught to laugh at a man's pretending to serve the nation, at what was called his family expence : and to censure, as an iniquity, the leaving of a fortune he had himself raised from the public, to the public use and benefit ; and accordingly (effectually to discountenance alike disposition in others) the generosity of the state was made to renounce its own right to advantage from his virtue ; and even to stigmatize his memory, by treating the most solemn act of his life as the work of a lunatic : defeating thereby a noble intention for the service of his country, which that great and good man discovered, and endeavoured to effect by his last will and testament.

Glorious and great are the Times, when the promotion of public welfare is deemed the first duty of particulars : and proportionably vile and infamous are those ages in which particulars are all eager to prey upon the community. A state in such degenerate era's, is in the condition of a devoted eagle, who, being first stript of his plumage by towering spoilers of the wing, is at length, from a deprivation of natural powers, preyed upon by terrestrial proulers, and finally devoured by the vermin and insects of nature ; the lowest and most despicable of beings.

Had that good man bequeathed this fortune to a college, a city company, or an hospital, for the improvement of gluttony, or the pickings of abuse, his last will had been duly executed, and his wisdom, like his virtue, would have remained unimpeached. But to aim at serving the public, by means that discountenanced the plunderers of it, was a practice too dangerous to their calling to be suffered to pass current : and therefore his endeavour was industriously

ously made to be despised, and even reviled, by the million; the unworthy and ungrateful objects of his patriot and pious regard.

All writers and speakers of *Sir Robert Walpole* (afterwards Earl of *Orford*) allow that his not paying off more of the public debt than he did, during his long administration, at which time the nation enjoyed profound peace, was an unpardonable error. But can reason or justice allow it to have been an error of judgment only? Or should it not rather be pronounced a determined guilt of the will? as he could not but have sinned under the full conviction of fatal consequences.

" What (*says Mr. Hume*) shall we say to the new paradox, That " public incumbrances are, of themselves, advantageous, independent of the necessity of contracting them; and that any state, even " though it were not pressed by a foreign enemy, could not possibly " have embraced a wiser expedient for promoting commerce and " riches, than to create funds, and debts, and taxes, without limitation? Discourses, such as these, might naturally have passed for " trials of wit amongst rhetoricians, like panegyrics on folly and a " fever, on *Bufiris* and *Nero*, had we not seen such absurd maxims " patronized, by great ministers, and by a whole party among us. " And these puzzling arguments, (for they deserve not the name of " specious,) tho' they could not be the foundation of Lord *Orford's* " conduct, for he had more sense; served at least to *keep his partizans* " *in countenance, and perplex the understanding of the nation.*"

But to what purposes were his partizans to be kept in countenance, and the understanding of the nation puzzled? Was there any public good to result from it? or was it not calculated solely for partial party-advantage? Did the nation thereby acquire solid wealth, to make it respectable in peace and formidable in war? Were the honour, rights, and dignity of our country asserted and maintained, not to say extended, amongst foreign states? Was commerce particularly patronized, improved and enlarged? Was economical order enforced at home, or leisure and attention employed in correcting abuses in employment, in freeing the obstructed channels of Justice, reforming manners, nursing arts, improving sciences, encouraging learning, or strengthening moral and religious practices among the people? No: the reverse of all these happened. The nation was kept impoverished by a mortgage to foreigners: enormous taxes were not only kept up, but also increased, to bad purposes: commerce languished under a thousand oppressions, as I am ready to prove, and intend to give instances of, from foreign states: national dignity was tamely suffered to be trampled upon, and national spirit bowed, by insulting and encroaching inferior powers; from dastardly fear arising from a conscious debility in corrupted principles and effeminated manners at home: where no true genius was rewarded; no exalted talents sought after: no practices encouraged but what had their foundation in chicanery, impudence and servility: till we became profligate in all

all practice, and, as says a much-read author, last year, religion entirely rooted from among us.

The growing luxury of that time, was the subject of frequent animadversion, for which he constantly apologized, by saying it was the natural and sure effect of flourishing trade and increasing riches: arguments that he well knew were absolute falsehoods. For during his administration our foreign commerce lost ground, and solid wealth rather lessened than increased among us; all our boasted acquisitions being no other than accumulations of pernicious and precarious paper: while his sappings of our national strength, vigour, virtue, integrity and honour, are from disgraceful examples now undeniably seen and heavily lamented.

Such have been the achievements of his genius! Such the blessings he has entailed upon his country! But being convinced of the measures that have so highly exalted us on the pillar of infamy, at the very brink of destruction, to which we have tamely suffered him and his adherents to lead us, it is high time we set about working at our redemption, by totally reversing our conduct: the present season only is our own, and God Almighty alone knows how long it will continue to be improvable by us. No nation has hitherto come to destruction, without evident tokens, and timely forewarnings of approaching ruin; and which, that it was not prevented, has always been owing to supine inattention and short-sighted guilt: dozed by emasculating delights, or engrossed by little pursuits, they neglected those that were the most important; such as public virtue and general security: for the last is dependent on the first; and sure to be undermined, and lost, by carelessness, infatuation and iniquity.

As every wise man now sees, and one of the greatest in power has lately acknowledged, the ruinous situation of our affairs; which is and can be derived from no other cause than our public debt: to endeavour to remove that source of our guilt and misfortunes, must of course be the most public-spirited work that can possibly be undertaken. I have therefore premised thus much, to prepare the public attention for some considerations which I shall, in my next paper, offer upon that subject: not as entire novelties, but as a system compounded from the thoughts of many; which I shall so digest as to make it, if not sufficiently compleat, at least easily improveable for so salutary a purpose. So that all will depend upon the integrity of our ministers, which I pretend not to doubt; and only aim to offer, what good men must desire to meet, trials of their truth; touchstones of their patriot virtue.



THE HERALD, OR, Patriot-Proclaimer

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XVIII.

THURSDAY, JANUARY, 12, 1758.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

The Patient cannot now bear quacking; and if effectual remedies be not speedily taken, the case is desperate. The security and interest of the crown, the power and reputation of the kingdom, the credit and honour of the ministry, depend upon doing this great work.—There is nothing therefore left to be done, but for all honest men to join heads, hearts, and hands, to find all means to discharge the publick burthens, and to add no more to them; to search every measure how we can lessen the national expences; to avoid all occasions of engaging in new ones; and to do all in our power to encrease trade and publick wealth, without sacrificing it to jobbs and private views. Which conduct alone will enable us honestly to pay off what we owe, and to become once more a free, rich, happy, and flourishing people.

TRENCHARD.

A Succession of administrations have proceeded so far in levying taxes and mortgaging their produce, that ministers are at length become distressed for means to furnish supplies for new-created funds; industry being burthened to the endangering of it, property loaded till it is almost annihilated, power and morality weakened by the toleration of the worst kind of the worst of vices, drunkenness with drams; and till general luxury, VOL. I. S the

the bane of all virtue and underminer of all security, is become necessary to be encouraged, for the sake of contributions towards the support of government. So that, however shocking to consideration, we are reduced to so miserable a plight that we dare not trust to virtue nor attempt reformation, lest by the experiment we are undone. And yet undone we inevitably must be, and it is to be feared irretrievably, by pursuing the course we are at present in: for the fatal practice of creating paper inheritances out of paper money, and loading land and labour to support them, have almost reached the end of the line that fraud and imposture have twisted for its extent: not from a likelihood of a failure of subscriptions, while scraps of paper can with such facility be coined for thousands, and a universal spirit of rapine contributes unbounded scope to the creation of such wealth; but means to mortgage will be found wanting, ~~of solid property~~ must become like what a great deal of it is ~~failed~~ in Holland; that is, considerably worse than nothing: there being estates in that country which, from an overcharge of taxes, people would be glad to give money to get rid of.

How nearly we already approach to such a condition in one kind of property, let any man determine who is sufficiently acquainted with the situation, at present, of lease-hold estates, and even of some absolute proprietorships, in and about the metropolis; from calculating what the liquid produce of many of them is, after the ground-landlord's rent is paid, and the taxes and dues of the King, parish and clergy are deducted, or allowed for. Sure I am that there are many estates at this time, in houses, that are rather chargeable than profitable to their owners: and I boldly appeal to honest reason and sage experience if the appearances for future alteration are not clearly and greatly against them? Here then do we behold one species of property almost swallowed up and gone already. So that (maugre all the chicaneries of craft and falsehood) from the enquiries of candour into the evils and advantages of publick credit, this demonstration is evident, and too clear to be obscured by the clouding chicanery of a thousand fallacious arguments, *that what is already the condition of one kind of solid property, must, from the same continued progress of things, infallibly become, in time, the case with all.* When landlords and labourers, if they can be brought to suffer it, must pinch and be starved, that placemen may plunder to the extent of their wishes, and stock-holders live entirely at their ease, and enjoy abundance.

The sinking fund, which was projected for redeeming our mortgaged inheritance, the refinements of modern policy have improved into means for producing a quite contrary effect, by adding immensely to the encumbrance: When that is pledged for as much or more than it will produce, our very hopes of retrieval will be gone: and our situation may be such as may make loans more necessary

cessary than ever, while we are in want of wherewithall to raise them upon; which that distress may push the administrators of government upon expedients that will hazard the loss of all property, and every thing that is valuable and dear to us. Our attentive neighbours and assiduous rivals the French, very clearly see and fully comprehend the inconveniences and dangers of our public debts; and therefore, it is to be feared, will never suffer us to enjoy uninterrupted peace enough to be able, in the ordinary way, to discharge any very considerable part of them. Some extraordinary methods must therefore be timely thought of; and in my humble opinion the less mystery there appears in them, the less liable they will be to frustration or abuse.

As, to secure peace and prosperity we must be respected; to be respected must be powerful; to be powerful, rich; to be rich, out of debt; no man should be deemed to think idly who proposes but plausible means for promoting those public blessings. Various schemes for which have been frequently, but hitherto fruitlessly, offered: if what I have to propose therefore should happen to be found either impracticable or unacceptable; it will be, at the worst, but adding one vain projector to the great number that have already exercised their talents on the same interesting subject to no purpose.

However advantageous public encumbrances are to ministers, by extending levies upon the people, and thereby increasing documents, and multiplying dependencies on themselves, all wise men agree in allowing they are embarrassments to the crown in its operations abroad, are dangerous to its security at home, and even exposes the sovereign to control from his servants. To the crown therefore they must be considered as a great evil; as, from the burthens they create they undeniably are to the estates and labouring parts of the people. What therefore is injurious to all, all should proportionably contribute to the removable of: and as ordinary means are not like to prove efficacious, extraordinary ones should be applied; and timely occasions seized for a speedy doing of what we are not like to be allowed a long leisure by our natural rivals and national enemies for accomplishing.

Public debts are no ways to be discharged but by the application of a political sponge, or with money, or money's worth. The first of these is a method full of cruelty and injustice: and however safely practicable by absolute governments; in limited monarchies must be deemed pregnant with every kind of danger. Honest payment then is the only eligible means for us to apply, or think of: and to be successful therein we must not delay our applications till the disease has so weakened our very vitals, as to render all remedies ineffectual for a cure.

I have in two preceding papers pointed out the means for improving our public revenue, by retrenching enormous and unnecessary expences; and of encreasing our national stock of bullion, by making requisite regulations for the beneficial augmentation of our exports, and the restraint of imports that are pernicious: two of the wise measures strongly recommended by the uncorrupt legislator, able politician, and true patriot, from whose writings I have selected the motto at the head of my paper. These preparatory steps towards redemption, a mortgaged and injured nation has a right to expect should be speedily taken. The ministers therefore who, it is hoped deservedly, have acquired so large a portion of the confidence of their distressed fellow-subjects, can give no stronger proofs of their integrity, nor so surely establish their own weight and power by any other methods, as by their pushing those points; and, therein, endeavouring an evident and important beginning of our desired reformation. The public trial of spirits, in a self-denying cause, is what is most ardently wished for by the people, who are grown as weary of expecting as of suffering: and thereupon become impatient (the thinking part of them at least) for demonstration where they are to rivet their reliance and affection; or where they are to root their resentment and prosecute their revenge.

When economy is established for saving, and wisdom has applied care for the encreasing of our gain, other measures may be taken for more powerful operations. Of these, the most important that can be thought of the crown may contribute, by affording means for turning burthensome artificial-wealth into strengthening solid-property. This may be effected by alienating so much of our waste, forest, and chase lands, (which are now only chargeable to government, nor are ever like to be of any greater use to the crown than for making occasional grants therefrom to insinuating or importunate suiters, or to swell the incomes of employments already unreasonably great) for the extinguishing of so much of our public debts as may, at least, entirely disengage the Sinking Fund: which, being left to its natural operations, will quickly produce savings sufficient, with the help of the increasing bullion that improved commerce will produce, to pay off our foreign creditors: at the same time from a conservation of all taxes but for a few years, such a surplus of produce from them will arise: as to enable the government to open, and even enforce, large subscriptions of funds or stocks to life-annuities, which should be granted only to people residing in the kingdom: all of which means working together, or in succession, would in a few years, with as much safety as utility to the public, free us gradually from our embarrassing and dangerous encumbrances: and, along with

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the redemption of our national inheritance, produce every good effect that the most patriot wishes can aspire to.

The great advantages that are to result from the speedy and honest pursuit of the measures here proposed, are the effectual removal of the many ruinous evils enumerated in my last paper; by removing all grounds of discontent and disaffection in the people, giving the crown power, weight and dignity abroad, restoring industry, virtue and security at home, saving posterity from burthens that might otherwise become insupportable; strengthening commerce for an abundant and lasting growth, upon the only sure principles for making it flourish; and the crown and nation also, by an augmentation of solid property, and in an increase of people, by furnishing of them with eligible means for their employment and existence.

To these proposals I foresee but one plausible objection that the minions of faction will dare openly to urge; which is, that the sacrifice required of the crown is unreasonable. Effectually to obviate this plea I have already said and hinted enough; and therefore shall only add here, that the contributions asked from the crown are not of a nature to hurt its authority by wounding its prerogatives. The lands essentially serviceable, either for pleasure or use, it is not desired or expected should be alienated; and to give up useless or chargeable ones, especially for purposes at present so salutary, and which in future will so greatly advantage government, in the increase of people and of solid property, by making what is at present useless become useful; I say, on a full and fair discussion of the point, I trust candour will pronounce, that the concessions hoped from the crown can be no evil or inconvenience to it, but, on the contrary be deemed serviceable to its interests, by promoting its own ease and grandeur, along with the happiness and prosperity of the nation.

The simplicity, facility, and effectuality of my scheme; is undeniably a proof that it has not been from necessity but guilt, in past administrations, that our national burthens have been supported and increased; for the establishing and increasing the power of ministerial factions, to the prejudice and dishonour of the sovereign, and to the corrupting and oppressing of the people.

The earings of royalty, it is hoped, will not hereafter be suffered to mislead Majesty, by whispering that government is to be strengthened by means that debauch the morals and ruin the principles of a nation: or that the obliging of five hundred with an indulgence to plunder five millions, is the way to encrease public affection, and secure a succession that a general regard for the common interest would infalliby support; and which nothing can endanger but the wantonness of rapine in statesmen and their creatures,

creatures, with all the outrages of its various concomitant vices.

True it is, that the few only who are really wise among us are attentive to these matters. All feel, all exclaim against the effects of our national debt, without enquiring into the causes of the evils they suffer by, or, of course, considering by what means they are likely to be removed. However, there are some men of serious thought still left in the nation, though their number is but small : but it is to be hoped that the generality of people can and will be recovered from their delirium of pleasurable or foolish pursuits, before it is too late, to a sober sense of their danger, timely to exert themselves for their deliverance.

If any doubts should arise to the efficacy of my scheme, I am ready to endeavour their solution : or if any objections can be started to the rectitude of its operations for the good end proposed, I doubt not of being able to give satisfactory answers. To unprejudiced reason I therefore make my appeal in its behalf ; and hope *Conciliation* and *Patriotism* will steadily and strenuously pursue it.



THE H E R A L D, OR Patriot-Proclaimer,

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XIX.

THURSDAY, JANUARY, 19, 1758.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

Tho' distant times may rise in SATIRE's page;
Yet chief 'tis her's to draw the *present age*:
With wisdom's lustre, folly's shade contrast,
And judge the reigning manners by the past.

DR. BROWN.

To the HERALD, &c.

SIR,

THE reading of your correspondent *Publicus's* letter introduced a train of reflections to my mind that have since caused my feeling many painful sensations; and I assure you, Mr. Tell-Truth, in my lonely contemplations, I have frequently found my face burning with a blush of shame for my past inattention to the great concerns which it is the duty of every individual Briton highly to regard, as well as for the apparent folly and infamy of our heedless, and degenerate times.

What we have been, we read; what we are, an hour's sober consideration may convince us. Your paper, Town, intruded on my thoughts a calm survey of the melancholy situation of our public affairs. I could not help reflecting how much more powerful a monarch our august sovereign has ever been deemed than his royal
VOL. I. nephew,

nephew, the King of *Prussia*; how vastly more numerous his subjects; how greatly superior his revenues; and how infinitely more abundant his resources, of every kind, for the support and successful prosecution of war; yet what a disparity of figure there appears in the military operations of the two nations; *Prussia* every where victorious! we, baffled in all our schemes, or cowed, like cowards, into a fear of attempting to carry them into execution; I say, revolving in my mind these facts and their consequences, my head became involuntarily bowed, from a consciousness of dishonour; and I cried out, from irresistible impulse, *Britain*, thou art an insensible, an inglorious and degenerated nation!

But it is to be hoped vice and folly have not yet quite extinguished all the embers of virtue and honour in our hearts. If any latent sparks are yet existing, labour, *Sir*, to blow them into a generous flame: rouse us, if possible, from the pleasurable follies of women, to the vigour, resolution and actions of men; of men worthy the enjoyment of liberty, and of a happy constitution, envied and admired by the whole world; of men meriting the great examples, and almost unrivalled renown, of patriot and heroic progenitors.

That we are not to look anywhere for the sources of the evils we suffer from but at home, will be evident from the candid disquisitions of reason. You have proved, beyond contradiction, the policy to be false that first created a monied interest, and that its tendency is undeniably to wretchedness and ruin. You have evinced the systematical iniquity of sapping all virtue, honour, and, with them, security, by extended corruption and unbounded prostitution. Pursue your patriot endeavours; shame us into a sense of national dignity abroad, and of moral worth and spirited emulation at home; detect the villainy that framed necessities for the creating of burthen-some taxes, for the sake of enlarging an unconstitutional influence, from briberies in the bestowing of lucrative employments and emoluments; convince the nation, that plundering the public to support vice and luxury by pensions, is an abuse too scandalously gross for a free people to endure; and that monopolies of power supported by fleeceings of the deserving and industrious, to fatten such as stand in the market of state to set conscience and trust to sale, can end no otherways than in what we see coming fast upon us, general infamy, beggary and ruin.

These, *Mr. Herald*, are subjects on which you have already said enough for public conviction: but I am afraid we are as much as hardened as we are an inattentive people. Proceed then to the enlargements you have promised on these heads: redouble your demonstrations of the mischiefs our iniquities are involving us in; and, by perseverance, force open our unwilling eyes to behold the gaping gulph of perdition, to whose brink we are blindly and heedlessly hurrying on.

My

My pen, unsuited, I fear, to such important subjects, is however tempted to the undertaking of another; of an inferior class indeed, but suited, I think, to the general scheme of your lucubrations.

An eager pursuit of pleasurable gratification is, no less than the Fordid endeavour after gain by every guilty means, a debilitating evil of the age. And that part of your correspondent's letter which shews the wonderful ascendancy over our minds, which a theatrical performer has acquired, affords much scope, in my opinion, for serious and mortifying reflection.

Is it not shocking, to sober consideration, that so large a share of public attention, in times of difficulty, danger and distress, should be engrossed, as we see is, by so insignificant a person as a stage player? To think how artfully his importance has been raised and is supported, and how cunningly he improves it for the acquiring of so immense a fortune, as he is heaping up, to the dishonour, and reproach of our country.

I have lived long enough to have seen, in my time, better exhibitions on the stage than any that are produced on it now; when people were contented to be only rationally delighted with them, and not frantically so, as at present. But if it pains wisdom to observe that half the conversations we hear are about this unworthy darling of the times, how highly should it inflame indignation to see grave doctors, while descanting on the depravity of the times, and lamenting the discouragement of learning, the decline of arts, the sinking of national spirit, the sapping of moral virtue, and the very annihilation of religion amongst us, condescend to mingle with the adulators of a selfish and vain-glorious player; and thereby contribute to the establishment of a tyranny that entrails reason, and tramples upon nobler genius. Such a depravity of spirit in humbler writers, necessity might perhaps have made pardonable; but in such as ought to have a consciousness of dignity in themselves, it is sure doubly contemptible: it is a prostitution that lightens their own characters in the scale of sober judgment, and, without exalting their object in the eye of wisdom, serves but to contaminate the agents.

But that such endeavours may not produce the mischievous effects they seem to threaten, I propose, with your permission, to be frequent in my remarks on this phænomenon in modern science; and break, if possible, the magic infatuation to which he has subdued the public mind, and aims to rule it by; manifestly for his own immoderate profit; and to national injury and disgrace. I shall begin this undertaking with a candid survey of his merit, as an actor, an author and a manager; to which purpose I dedicate this and my following letter.

To the preheminence of rank, above all others, as an actor, I make no scruple of admitting his plea. But to the universality of that

that merit, which is too generally allowed him, reason strongly warrants the refusal of my assent. He has attempted many capital characters that he was far from being able to succeed in. The weight of *Piere*, the strength of *Othello*, and the delicacy of the fine gentleman, have, in their turns, severally and notoriously foiled him: and should he attempt *Brutus*, *Pyrrhus* or *Cato*, he would infallibly appear little in the comparison, to those who remember *Booth*, or even *Quin*, in the solid, sentimental, heroic and sublime. In the gallant, elegant and tender, *Berry* is his superior; and in the melancholy, *Sheridan*; as is conspicuous from the character of *Hamlet*. Of all the various walks of the *Theatre*, therefore, unprejudiced judgment can allow him to excell but in two; which are the impetuous in tragedy and the strongly ridiculous in comedy; blots in nature, which his gift of vivacity and talent of mimickry, along with a wonderfully expressive eye, contribute to enable him most successfully to hit. There is indeed a middle character that he is truly excellent in, which is *Ranger*; to which his natural sprightliness gives an uncommon grace: and it is perhaps from that single circumstance that he shews more genuine humour in that part than in any other character he performs. In lower comedy, or rather farcical characters, he distinguishes himself more by grimace than humour, such as *Bays*, *Fribble*, *Abel Drugger*, and others.

Whoever remembers *Quin*, in *Falstaff*, the late *Laureat*, in *Shallow* and many other characters, and old *Johnson*, in almost every thing he did; must recollect to have met with strokes of the strongly ridiculous that made them laugh without being greatly, if at all, offended with the personages that were the objects of their mirth: which was an undoubted proof of genuine humour. Now that is not the case with respect to most of the low characters our great modern appears in: his personages in general, are either drawn or made so odious or contemptible, that we are apt to hate or despise them too much; so that there is a kind of moral hurt blended with our mirth; which I think authorizes me to pronounce that his claim to true humorous excellence is extremely limited: and, if fully examined into, might perhaps be found much less than that of many of his unheeded contemporaries.

In serious playing, his strength is very great, particularly in busy or passionate characters; surprise, impatience, interruption, are circumstances he always manifests high excellencies in exhibiting. His sudden transitions, in particular, he has the happy art of making extremely swift, and exceeding distant. He falls from fury into tears with a breath; and is pure and entire in both sensations. But in his tragic performances, he certainly has his imperfections and errors; the lot indeed of all mortals in human endeavours; which I mention without malignity, and merely to persuade his

blind

blind admirers that he is not quite a divinity; nor even nearer in his approaches thereto, than were others who have gone before him.

His powers often fail him in the flow of elocution; insomuch that he is forced to make restings in utterance where no stops are to be found in his authors. To a consciousness of this deficiency may be owing his rarely attempting of sublime characters; and which, when he does attempt, it may be observed that he never succeeds in them. He is neither graceful in his treading of the stage, or his bodily deportment; he uses abundance of false action, such as moulding the habit on his stomach, catching at, and grasping the side of his robe; is mean in his approaches of love, and often awkwardly embarrassed with his hat. He lays frequent clap-traps, in false pauses, stammerings, hesitations and repetitions; and uses pantomime tricks in affected agitations, tremblings and convulsions; he over-agonizes dying, and many ways debases his own excellencies, to extort applause from the injudicious, by methods that are offensive to the true judges of his art.

Wilks, was, in his approaches to beauty, so important, elegant and easy, as to make all modern practice of that kind painful to beholders who remember him. *Borb*, had such harmony and compass of expression, such grace in his movements, and so much meaning in his action, as to decorate sentiment highly, and display passion with a repletion of powers that shewed every word, as it were, rising, or rushing from his heart: he looked, he moved, he spoke; the king, the hero, patriot, lover, lunatic! every thing, in short, that the business of the scene demanded he should appear to be.

But there is no necessity I should try the merit of our modern *Roscius* by tests of antiquity that cannot now be produced; and therefore must appear dubious to his blind and wilful admirers. I set out with declaring him the first actor of the times; and intend not to aim at depriving him of that station. In the light of an actor, I am therefore only offended, that public regard destroys the necessary mean betwixt admiring and adoring. That from beholding no entire equal at present, they dispose their minds for entertaining a belief that he never had, nor ever can have, any. This immeasurable regard, he makes the means of establishing imposition, to his own profit and the oppression of others; swelling thereby his consequence, and extending an infatuation that is dishonourable and hurtful to the community.

To how ridiculous an extent this fashionable folly operates, let the following story make appear; which I have been told for a truth, with the names of the parties, and think it deserving of public laughter.

A

A man of sense and spirit meeting one of the dromedaries of the age, mentioned to him that he was going to Tunbridge. To Tunbridge! cries the other, what should you do there? Why G——'s come to town! No, says the Gentleman, you must be mistaken. Upon my soul, replied Nampus, it is true. It cannot be, rejoined the man of wisdom, for I'll swear that I have not heard the guns fired yet at the tower. And so saying, he turned upon his heel; and left the blockhead gaping on the discovery of a contempt that he certainly deserved to encounter.

In my next letter, I shall finish the task I have imposed upon myself; who am,

S. I. R.

Your humble Servant,

SEVERUS.



THE H E R A L D, OR Patriot-Proclaimer.

By SYENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XX.

THURSDAY, JANUARY, 26, 1758.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

Now Bavius take the poppy from thy brow,
And place it here! here all ye heroes bow!
This, this is he, foretold by ancient brymes,
Th' Augustus born to bring Saturnian times.
Signs following signs lead on the mighty year!
See! the dull stars roll round and re-appear.

Our Midas sits Lord Chancellor of Plays!

POPE.

I F, as an actor, the merits of *Roscius* are greatly over-rated by the public; as an author, he certainly is entitled to no portion whatever of their esteem; whilst, as a manager, they are indebted to him for numberless injuries and impositions. Having, in my last letter, taken a slight general survey of him in the first character, I propose at present to do the same in the other two: all of which I intend but as a ground-work to more particular and ample disquisitions hereafter.

The mightiest achievements of this *Drawcanir's* quill (as we may gather from a very extraordinary letter published at the latter end of the last acting season, which, like Petulant in *The Way of the World*, he is supposed to have done himself the honour of writing.)

VOL. I.

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to himself) are the characters of *Fribble* and *Lord Chalkstone*; which he considers as the shining efforts of such extraordinary genius as entitle him to take the left hand, if modesty restrains him from assuming the right, of Shakespeare, in the temple of glory. But were these sublime drafts really originals, there are *Connoisseurs* partial enough to give his great master's *grave-diggers* and *carriers*, the preference in estimation, both for design and execution: for how is not envy disposed to endeavour at lessening all living merit! and say these pseudo-criticks, if his borrowed plumage should be taken away, this bird of paradise will appear an arrant daw; his *Flash* and *Fribble* being evident thefts from the comedy called *Tunbridge Walks; or the Yeoman of Kent*; and the design of *Lord Chalkstone* may be traced in the figure of the proud old *Earl*, in the first picture of the ingenious Mr. Hogarth's *Marriage a-la-mode*; for the colouring whereof he has been beholding, with our modern novel writers and other as great adepts in the literary art, to that inexhaustible fund of science, called the common-place Chit-chat of the town.

In prologues and epilogues he has likewise been seen to figure so highly, that one of his resolute *Cbronicle* panegyrists has ventured to prophecy he will shine therein, to future ages, the immortal *Dryden* of our days. But, alas! the envyers of exalted fame do notwithstanding, maliciously infist that all the merit lies in the speaking, and not in the writing, of those applauded Compositions; which, say they, however admired by the Ladies and clapped by the Galleries, appear in reading but poor, pert, frothy, patchwork productions; almost always without poetry, and often without sense. His *prologues* in general, it is observed, are much more pleasing than his *epilogues*; for which this obvious reason is readily assigned: that as his abilities of acting and talent of mimicry are strong, he catches from observation a character, and colours it to his own execution. Did he give his *prologues* to inferior performers to speak, as he does those of other men; or was he ready to speak those of other writers as he is his own, the disparity of composition would be probably glaring to his disadvantage, which he cunningly prevents by that flagrant partiality.

The same, I think, may be alledged with respect to his farcical characters; for the very name of *Roscius* has a charm to draw the multitude, and furnishes a prepossession that he thoroughly avails himself of in the exhibition of his own pieces. Could another poet arise, who even delineated as well and coloured as highly as the inimitable *Shakespeare* himself, I very much question if *Roscius* would be persuaded to act in any farces he should write, willingly countenance the performance of them, or even of higher productions; for reasons that will appear under the article which we are next to take into consideration; namely, the merits of his conduct as a manager.

His

His public introduction into this office was by a *prologue*, which he would not trust to his own since-ever-vibrating pen for writing: and he judged wisely in procuring that performance from a real master; for there was in it more poetical merit than can be found in all he has since spoken, if their whole essence was extracted and diffused through a single production of that compass and structure. He, therein, entered into a solemn engagement with the public, that the *Muses* should be reinstated in their rightful dominion: that *Taste* should be the refiner, and *Reason* the regulator of our *Amusement*; and that we should once more, according to the nervous *Thomson*,

— “ See the dread delightful school
Of temper'd passions and of polish'd life,
Restor'd, improv'd! the well-dissembled scene
Call from embellish'd eyes the lovely tear,
Or light up mirth in *moldst* cheeks again.
Lo vanish'd monster-land. Lo driv'n away
Those that APOLLO's sacred walks profane;
Their wild creation scatter'd; where a world
Unknown to nature, CHAOS more confus'd,
O'er the brute scene its *Ouran-Outangs* pours;
Detested forms! that, on the mind imprest,
Corrupt, confound and barbarize an AGE. ”

But in what has the promised millennium to genius ended? What immortal bards have arisen, or been encouraged in their growth, to give glory to the reign of our monster-killing Hercules, our theatrical monarch, and reformer? except from over-bearing influence or abject subserviency, how many new plays has he exhibited on the theatre? yet pantomimes, player's farces, and the dancing efforts of all nations, have been thrust upon the public with as instructive a merit as an unwearied application.

But time, the unraveller of all craft, clearly reveals, at length, to the eye of observant candour, the various frauds and impostures practised by this tinsel tyrant of the stage, with wronging of the public and dishonouring of the age, to oppress or discourage able writers: this the weak and wilful conduct of a rival manager has enabled him with the greater ease and security to do: and his motives for such proceedings are too obvious to be mistaken, being no other than the prevention of rivalry in public regard, from a display of superior genius, and the monopolizing of all theatrical profits to himself.

If his reception of a piece could not be withheld, generally from the weight of powerful recommendation, the strength of an author's party, or the fear of attacks on him from a writer in his own cause, the common artifices practiced by him to discourage farther attempts

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by them, have been by disgusts, from unreasonable procrastinations of exhibition, or by etidels objections and required alterations.

When a play then was not safely resistible, it has been his inviolable practice to promise that it should appear in its turn, which is after half a dozen others have been acted; for the performance whereof more than an equal number of years have been found too scanty portions of time, because the stage must be kept disengaged for revived and altered plays, new pantomimes, dances, playhouse farces, or an added character in *Lette*.

Shakespeare is in the mean time, from a pious regard for that venerable father of the stage, sacrilegiously frittered and be-ribbled one season, and the next, perhaps, no less boscioniously restored. All the rubbish of old authors is rummaged over, and their most shabby vestments of science new scoured, refurbished up, and carefully dearmed with the abundant packthread of his ample patnassian storehouse. And to ornament, all in his power, such boshwork rarities of obsolete wit, often gross obscenity, and engrailed touches on the times, he exercises his self-beloved and town-admired talent, in writing a fashionable prologue and epilogue; which the bright judges of both sexes have the immediate inspiration to consider as the utmost efforts of human wit: and while (from errors to be hereafter descanted on) another manager is doing nothing, all people crowd, pay, sweat, and clap at the theatre; converse, admire and adore at home! *Roscius* becoming every where, the great object of regard, the darling, the glory of the age! and who, in the mean time, like the evil angel in *Addison's campaign*,

" Smiles in the tumult and enjoys the storm ; "

that is, hugs himself in the success of his own craft, laughs at the publick infatuation, and pockets up their pence.—Let me not disgrace his gains, but say, the multiplied thousands upon thousands by them wantonly lavished, and by him assiduously gleaned up, as actor, manager, author, from the stage, and alterer for the press, with all the aggregate circumstances of triumphant preheminence, and power; such as applause, courtship, adulation and sway! the adequate acquisitions of his superlative genius, and the truest estimators of the taste, candour, wisdom, justice, generosity and spirit of the times.

There can be no stronger proofs of the degeneracy of a people, than the evidence of their affections being engrossed, and their reason enslaved, by a mere contributor to their pléasures. And sure when phrenzy becomes so catching and prevalent, that prepossessions operate with passion, and opinion is seen liable to intoxication, it his high time that remedies should be applied for lowering the fever of folly. To be an eminent actor is, henceforth, like to become a more lucrative, nay even consequential, employment than that

that of a general, admiral, minister or great officer of state. It is therefore one among the many reigning evils that contribute to level order, and thereby wound and weaken society. Little reading is necessary to convince cool and unprejudiced minds, that free states can only be vigorous, and prosperous, while publick attention is rivitted to objects that are really important, and worthy of general regard. The ancient glorious states of Greece and Rome, nay even the constitutions of most modern nations have been overthrown and subverted by the heedless or designed indulgence of fashionable follies, and the immoderate pursuits of enervating pleasures. I readily own theatrical diversions to be as rationally allowable as any that can be enjoyed by a People. Yet ought we to remember, how much infatuations therein contributed to the ruin of Athens and the enslaving of Rome. And to this day; in Spain, the passion for bull-fighting, which one would think of not so bewitching a nature, rages to such an excess among the common people, that even despotism, become as absolute as it is in Algier, is aided in its oppressions by their indulgence.

Many living persons must remember the English stage, when *Booth*, *Wilks*, *Cibber*, *Dogget*, *Johnson*, *Miller*, *Griffin*, Mrs. *Oldfield*, Mrs. *Porter*, and many other very eminent performers of both sexes, all acted at one theatre, and often all, or most of them, appeared in one play. And yet there was not such frantic running after them every night as at present, when the exhibitions are in general infinitely worse: nor was there such a wonder made of one man, as we see now cunning, more than unrivalled merit, can swell into such a monster of perfection. Let anyone but remark how parsimoniously the abilities of performers are at present husbanded, to catch the passions and improve the infatuations of the town; and there will appear in that conduct, the most glaring imposture and abuse. Plays, it may be observed, are chosen to be revived in which but half the strength of a company can appear: or, if they could, half of the parts are murdered to make the sight of principal performers more rare; the better to secure a continual attraction of the town. This was not the case in former times. For great as was *Booth* in the high walks of *Tragedy*, he condescended to strengthen *Comedy* by frequently appearing in characters of no higher importance than that of *Scandal*, in *Love for Love*. And all of them thought it their duty to support the representation of every piece, by taking second and even third characters, in their turns, that spectators might be entertained, as they always ought to be, with the whole powers of the company. But now actors of name are, like cattle, coupled two and two, to draw alternately or in succession the public into our conjuror's circle; where he makes them pay, at will, for just so much entertainment as his own estimate of value measures for their money: or that as he finds himself graciously disposed, more or less, to favour them therein.

It should likewise be remembered how many new pieces were annually exhibited in those times: never less than two and very often three compleat

compleat representations; beside revivals, farces and other entertainments. It was then customary, also, to take only ordinary pieces till something new was exhibited; for which the extraordinary was considered to be allowed, as a stimulating gratification. But the reign of *Roscius*, has turned that contribution for the encouragement of authors, into an aggregate of profit to himself; by becoming as absolute a sovereign of the quill as he is of the buskin and sock; allowing no man to get, either way, more than his offals; or sometimes, as has been suspected, a composition-stipend or pittance. While advanced prices now commence with the season, and pass as smoothly down, as if there was no spirit left among the people for the resistance of imposition.

Roscius may pretend what he pleases of the want of able writers for the stage, but the true cause thereof can be no other than that of his with-holding from them their due encouragement. It may be remarked that he has seldom produced a new play in the heart of a season; or failed of shewing every way a discountenance to their being written. Yet, merely to save appearances, he commonly professes friendship to a single author at a time; with whom a prior engagement is made his hacknied pretence to silence all claims of attention from others. His first favourite of this kind the public made him shake off, as unfit for his purpose; a second has found it necessary to desert him; and now there is obviously a third, whom he is pushing strongly into public notice, with no other view whatever, but that of making him contribute to the support of his own self-interested schemes.

But sure oppression should not be suffered to steal from accusation with so saucy a sneer as that of proposing to make the *Lord Mayor* for the time being the standard judge, and sole approver of new plays. No: the nation has a right, for public honour, to demand there should be an impartial encouragement of genius. And if patentees were obliged to exhibit at either house two new plays in each season (a number that in former times were at least always produced) the choice of them might safely be left to their own wisdom; and that very obligation, would be such an encouragement to learning and genius, as might prove of public service, and be a credit to our country.

I profess myself to be the hater of all insolence, tyranny and imposition: and think that mankind can no way be so signally served as by laying open to them the schemes and practices of sordid craft and imposture, in those who are ever fattening from public favour, and ever abusing public opinion and confidence. While you therefore, *Mr. Herald*, attack fraud in a higher sphere, permit me to assail it in the lower orders of life; for iniquities in no persons or parties should be connived at, or ever be permitted to prosper unmolested.

I am,

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

S E V E R U S



THE HERALD, OR Patriot-Proclaimer.

By: STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XXI.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY, 2, 1758.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

Fari quæ sentiat.

the HERALD, &c,

SIR,

A S in your introductory paper you promised as impartially to praise as to censure any measures or proceedings the public are interested in; I take the liberty of recommending to you the following panegyrical letter for publication, a copy of which fell into my hands by accident: it seems to have been written to some great personage on very remarkable and important transactions. From several circumstances I imagine it can be a production of no great antiquity; but to whom address'd, and at what time, or on what occasion, written, I cannot so much as pretend to guess: however, I hope you will print it, to shew the world what extraordinary virtues and abilities have shone forth in the behaviour and negotiations of a British subject; who am,

S. I. R.,

Your very humble servant,

A. Z.

VOL. I.

To the Right Honourable ——.

My Lord,

I Sincerely felicitate your *Lordship's* safe arrival in a country that hath never yet failed of highly rewarding your singularly eminent services in civil as well as military employments. A country long renowned for her wise choice of ministers and commanders: for legislators above corruption, heroes above sordid regards, public officers and servants above plunder, and negotiators, at foreign courts, who have always made the true glory of the crown and the genuine interests of the nation the constant regulators of their conduct, and the invariable objects of their regard.

To the shining efforts of such superlative geniuses as your *Lordship's*, our nation is indebted for the lustre of unrivalled reputation abroad, and also for the virtue, wealth, security, harmony and happiness, that reign so conspicuously among us at home. Blessings, my *Lord*, that but a few generous and patriotic spirits have contributed to establish: yet which, while all enjoy, all should be grateful in their acknowledgments for; and, whenever occasions offer for doing it, be ample in their honorary testi-monials thereon.

With this view, I confess myself ambitious of offering my humble trophy at the foot of your *Lordship's* elevated shrine of glory. A monument that through distant ages, will transfix your fame, distinguished by a suitable regard. Modesty is allowed to be the inherent quality of great minds: yet however painful to your noble heart the display of your virtues, in a candid review of your conduct, ~~not~~ prove; you must, my *Lord*, permit an obliged nation to express a due sense of such favours as they despair of having power, to the extent of their wishes, for rewarding.

When I contemplate your *Lordship's* known equanimity of mind, your easiness of access, sweetness of disposition, candour of heart, politeness of address, and complacency of manners, especially to inferiors, I always figure in my thoughts the happiness of those whose good fortune it is to serve under you. It is almost peculiar to your *Lordship* to be gracious as well as graceful in the orders you give; and to sweeten your commands with so engaging a delicacy in uttering them, as to ensure their being encountered, or rather embraced, with the most pleasurable alacrity for obedience, and executed with the ardor that a certainty of generous approbation is ever sure to inspire.

But it is not in military service only that your *Lordship* has had the happiness of displaying your eminent abilities, along with the amiable and endearing qualities of your mind and heart. You have had opportunities, also, for figuring highly in civil employments; particularly in two, on very extraordinary occasions. The north and the south have alike seen an exertion and display of talents, in your *Lordship*, that amazed mankind; whilst void of all arrogance and presumption, of all self-sufficiency, vanity or pride, you irradiated councils, reconciled jarring states, cleared from obstructions the fertilizing channels of commerce, and insured protection and prosperity to such as vainly thought, from the dubious

bious authorities of facts, their personal safety precarious, and their properties imminently endangered.

With what persuasive eloquence did your *Lordship* lull the fears of a great trading community! how irresistibly did you charm from their possession, and to what worthy purposes, by the angelic powers of your tongue, a dangerous and illegally-executed compact which they had presumptively made with one of the dispensers of law, a learned JUDGE of the land, upon their electing him into the office of their national protector, as allowed by the stipulations of treaties; to prevent, as from experience they daringly imagined might happen, his commencing their insatiate spoiler, and unmerciful tyrant! With what precaution and success did you labour and accomplish a point of such moment for the security of commerce and trading property, and in support of your country's honour and welfare! In all which transactions, your *Lordship* may challenge the basest blackners of virtue, the most daring calumniators of great and good men, to stand forth, in the face of the world, and declare if your promises of redress and security, agreeable to the tenour of treaties, were not equal to all the hopes that candour could entertain; and if you did not most conscientiously fulfil the several engagements you voluntarily entered into, evidently and honourably, even to the minutest circumstance thereof.

Happy was it, for the eternal establishment of your *Lordship*'s reputation, that all matters of complaint were there laid before you in writing. *What was demanded*, you have in your hands at any time to shew: *what*, agreeable to your promises, *you accomplished*, it is not in the power of any malignant party or person whatever to hide. National redresses can be no secrets: and public facts are irrefragable evidences for truth. Your *Lordship* cannot but remember, with pleasure, how warm a joy your fellow-subjects abroad express on your arrival among them, in a written address; which was presented on the shore, the very moment you set your feet upon land, and was even intended to have been delivered to you afloat. And, having beheld all the great effects of your interesting mission, the remarkable manner in which they shewed their sense of the great kindness you had done them in the effectual service of your country, by a most unusual behaviour on your departure, must surely inspire reflections that will be wonderfully soothing to your mind in its solitary hours; be productive of comforts, my *Lord*, that will happily serene your decline of nature, invigorate the flagging pulse of sickness, alleviate pain itself, and even smooth the bed of death in your departing moments.

As fortune hath indulged your *Lordship* with an opportunity for revisiting a community made so happy and prosperous by your able negotiations, permit me to expatiate on the pleasure that must have resulted from beholding and contemplating the glorious effects of your labours. How must your noble and upright heart have dilated with satisfaction, on surveying the precious accumulations of advantage and happiness enjoyed by so valuable a body of your fellow subjects, from your unwearied endeavours; and therein, the raising and strengthening of the general interests and joint honour of your sovereign and country! Sure if there

there is a human sensation that has in it a more than ordinary finiture of divine enjoyment, it must be that of the generous friend, patriot and father; when, with a consciousness of the most eminent services done from the kindest motives, he receives the endearing returns of public gratitude and affection! Say, my Lord, when you encountered the startling teat of veneration and of love; when you saw yourself surrounded by bosomts heaving with pleasurable sighs, and all pressing to give utterance to the joy that was felt on your being once more amongst them: or, on your passing from place to place, when you continually met the decent glances of dear regard, and the lowly fervencies of unfeigned respect; tasted not your soul of extacies so exalted, as made the alluring luxuries of life, the pomps of title and the gratifications of power and command, all shrink from your concern; and seem poor and little in comparison with the happiness that, from sights so tenderly touching to a noble and generous heart, you then felt yourself in the full and entire possession of?

And lasting, doubtless, must the satisfaction prove which your *Lordship* there received, from finding how effectually your solemn charge had been executed by those worthies whom you had selected and deputed to regulate and conclude, agreeable to national compacts, several matters of interesting importance to your country. Their punctual and assiduous assistance at conferences, the many serviceable points they had the address to carry in them, the satisfactory reports they made, from time to time, to the community they were members of, and the apparent advantages that resulted from their undertaking, have, I trust; been circumstantially and faithfully related to you. Whereby your *Lordship* must have discovered how justly they are intitled to an humble share with you, not only in the present regard of the public, but also, in the everlasting acknowledgement of posterity.

Nor should we neglect to express our gratitude to upright administrations at home for their remarkable attention to public welfare, in appointing such worthy and able coadjutors and successors to your *Lordship* in the important concerns you was commissioned, at a wise and grateful court, to negotiate. The full accomplishment of all solemn promises, made here as well as in that country, evince the reasonableness of unlimited reliance on the zeal and integrity of ministers, for all that regards the dignity of his majesty's crown and the honour and welfare of the nation: for every thing that hath since happened has contributed to prove that your *Lordship's* mission was no scandalous jobb; and the declarations of our statesmen, relating thereto (if I may be indulged in a fashionable expression) no ministerial *bum-bugs* of the people.

Like a fortunate cultivator, your *Lordship* has had the happiness, on your return to that kingdom, to see how very prosperously the shoots of your planting have thrived. All there, you have found, is unbroken harmony and unbounded prosperity! No rigorous blasts of oppression, nor treacherous underminings of abuse, have obstructed the growths of the rooted saplings of your tender care. The great and good man who, you there told your countrymen, hath so unfeigned a regard for them and their interests,

interests, has since given them unceasing demonstrations of a most singular affection in such a variety of cases, as when instanced, which I am told they are soon like to be, will undoubtedly astonish mankind. And as, in your last visit, you could not have heard of any murmurings or complainings whatever, you certainly may, with as safe a conscience as heretofore, report to your sovereign, his faithful councilors, and your obliged country, that all causes and appearances of them are entirely removed.

How wonderful are the acquisitions, and how secure the operations of superlative abilities! Happy sure, in the extreme, is that minister whose talents are of a size to render all the low arts of little negotiators unnecessary for him to put in practice, and whose honour is so perspicuous and invincible as to intimidate the instruments of power from attempting to seduce him, for lucre, into a collusive or unworthy employment. He, my *Lord*, never necessitates himself to use the low applications of guile, for palliating the sacrifices of dignity or interest that an indolent, corrupt, or incapable ministry might be disposed secretly, but durst not avowedly, to make. Such a negotiator never stoops to the unworthy practice of making promises that he intends not to perform: nor ever affects to consult with a candid and sincerely-relying body of people to ensnare and deceive them. He neither fawns to cajole, or hectors to bully them into pernicious measures. He disgraces not himself by ridiculing or traducing to foreigners, till they even blush at hearing him, an innocent and valuable body of his fellow subjects, whose integrity he could not sap, or whose understandings he could not foil. He never assiduously foments divisions, to circumvent honest men in the laudable pursuits of their rights: is never detected in impostures, or despised for unworthy and underhand designs: nor finds himself obliged to steal from a station of eminence unnoticed, and without the customary credentials of approbation: and in consequence thereof, on his arrival at home, is poorly necessitated to save appearances with his sovereign by procuring something of their kind, through fraud and misrepresentation, from such as were unacquainted with his proceedings, and consequently could have no right to the bestowing of them.

It is even said, and believed, on the other side of the water, that your *Lordship* so fully compleated the great work you took in hand, that a later S—y of S—te, and who it is thought is desirous of being such again, was pleased to give orders to your worthy successor, and to another able officer at that place, to make no representations there, in future, upon any novelties that might happen, but to transmit accounts thereof home; where, experience has long shewn us, they will be always most readily and effectually attended to. What a striking proof is this of the permanency of your masterly acquisitions! and how strongly ought it to excite a desire in the public to see the whole train of your able negotiations laid open to general view; that they may triumph in your achievements, and enjoy the satisfaction of considering the means you applied as so many guiding lights, or leading stars, to the glorious elect for your successors, in missions ordinary and extraordinary, to direct them how, with a becoming spirit, to assert

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the dignity of their sovereign's crown, and the interests and rights of their country.

But in the Kingdom where your *Lordship's* negotiations must be ever remembered with so much honour to your name, and to which you so lately paid an obliging and occasional visit, permit me to congratulate you on a new and happy sight (that you doubtless enjoyed because I well know you might have done it) which was an wholesome humiliation of our saucy *Canaille*, so long wished for by elegant and elevated minds. There, my *Lord*, the base blood of such useless wretches as common sailors, which is apt to boil up into disorder at home, was to be beheld corrected by labour, by hunger, by fetters, and by stripes. They were to be seen chained to moors, jews, negros, and felons, even in violation of the law of nations and the constitutional ordinances of that Kingdom, begging while they were employed in cleansing of the streets, and scourged to diligence in the vilest and most ignominious employments. But indeed since your *Lordship* honoured that country with your residence in a public character, as extraordinary as necessary chastisements have been seasonably inflicted on some of our higher rabble there: one instance, at least, of which bids fair for being held in everlasting remembrance.

But, my *Lord*, by these triumphs your glory is not to be bounded. I foresee (surely by inspiration) that a time will come when in the face of the world, your *Lordship's* *candour, wisdom, justice, integrity and obedience*, will shine forth on a great occasion, with such unrivalled lustre, that a whole people shall be loud in their opeans to your praise.

As I am sollicitous to be thought a panegyrist of delicacy, I hope your *Lordship* and the public will grant, I have with great propriety selected the motto which I have placed at the head of this humble and inadequate performance. No eminent statesman ever adapted it with more truth to himself, than I hope it will be allowed, I have done on this agreeable occasion. And in nothing would I be believed to say what I think more than in subscribing myself, as with the profoundest respect and highest veneration I do,

My Lord,
Your *Lordship's*
Sincere admirer,
and most devoted,
humble servant,

A T T I C U S.

THE
HERALD,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XXII.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY, 9, 1758.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

The principle of honour gives vigour to every movement of the state.
Estimate of the manners and principles of the times.

AVING shewn, in a former paper, the good effects of virtue, while it operates strongly in free states; and the fatal evils that attend the loss of it; I shall now discharge the obligation I then laid ~~myself under~~, in promising to consider how necessary to the welfare and aggrandizement of regal Dominions, the encouragement and observance of honour should be deemed; as thereon must depend the glory and stability of the throne, alike with the strength, happiness and security of the people. An enquiry well worthy of our making, as honour is a principle no less necessary to be cultivated than virtue in our country; whose political constitution being compounded of the three orders of government, namely, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, all the qualities requisite for invigorating them severally should be blended together in our minds and hearts, and made influential of our opinions and practices.

Honour, though springing from a less valuable root than virtue, is of a similar growth; and often productive of most, if not all, of the good effects of it, in the social intercourse, and in the operations of government. Without freedom the higher virtues are seldom seen to grow up and flourish, to an elevated eminence: yet in kingdoms of the most despotic way, honour may be made to acquire the greatest glory, and even to produce happiness to an almost equal degree. But in proportion as government is limited or boundless, those desirable effects of honour must be pernicious or precarious: This will appear alike evident from examining the histories of ancient and the condition of modern kingdoms.

VOL. I.

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The judicious *Montesquieu* rightly observes, that the advances of government to despotism are but so many approaches of it to danger. This is obvious from a survey of the ancient *Roman* tyranny, which all along subjected their very emperors to a mercenary army; by which they were set up and pulled down, as military interest or even humour might require. The same is to be observed of the *Turkish*, *Moorish* and *Russian* governments; where we find ministers and even monarchs less secure than in countries where sway is more limited and moderate.

But the passion for uncontrollable power is apt to be so strong in the minds of princes, as well as the thirst of ambition, that they are seldom satisfied with less than what, by its very acquisition, proves destructive of the ends they pursue. Thus they seek an encrease of power that endangers their posterity, and an encrease of territory that hazards their dominion.

Who is not convinced, for example, that the extent of the *Roman* empire was the greatest cause of its destruction? Or who can doubt but that the *Turkish* or *Russian* empires would be much more powerful than they are, were they greatly contracted and better governed? Nay, was the gallic monarch as uncontrollable as he evidently seeks to become, and conqueror of all the countries he desires to reign over, no means would probably be so likely to put an end to his family and their domination, as those that he is so assiduously applying for their establishment in greater glory.

Moderation therefore, in authority as well as in the extent of territory, should be the council of wisdom and integrity to princes. What *Charles* the bold, the last duke of *Burgundy*, lost by the *Want of it*, may be seen in *Philip de Comines*; which were no less than the richest possessions in Europe; successions that would have made his house the most powerful of any therein; his life; and the annihilation of his family, by its sinking into another, and thereby, in effect, coming to an end. Such a lecture to princes, against ungovernable pride and ambition, as is hardly to be paralleled in history.

But to confine myself more closely to my subject; let me observe that no monarchies ever have been, nor ever can be, prosperous or great but from an apparent honour in the administration of government; by the affection and gratitude it excites, and the inspiration, therefrom, of the same principle in the minds of the people. Few wicked emperors of the Romans made a great figure in war, or promoted, or even enjoyed, at home, civil or domestic happiness. And in later kingdoms, if while the miseries were extending that ordinarily flow from despotism, a frantic passion for the sovereign's glory has occasionally raged amongst the people, as was remarkably the case with respect to *Charles* the XIIth of *Sweden* and *Louis* the XIVth of *France*, they were but short flashes of misguided Zeal, the transitory infatuations of distempered minds; excited perhaps by the exertion of many extraordinary virtues in one prince, and a display of many illustrious qualities in the other. But what have the consequences been of the happy recovery of calm reason in both kingdoms, where that honour survived which had been so perverted as to operate

operate in those delusions? Liberty has, in one kingdom, been instigated therefrom to the resumption of a power that is even become enfeebling and dangerous; and in the other a manifest desire of freedom is rooting itself in the minds of the people, and is asserted and pursued with a steadiness and resolution that make them glorious. And should the regal scale preponderate a little more in *Sweden* and the legal in *France*, both kingdoms may become greater and happier than ever they were before. While *Spain* and *Portugal*, who were once glorious nations, have, by the perversion and loss of honour, sunk into a debility from which they are never likely again to emerge.

Few Princes are more absolute than the present king of *Prussia*, but his government is honourable, and that honour has given him the strength by which he has acquired such unparalleled Glory. His genius is immense, his application almost unexampled, and his justice is equal to his wisdom. He is no less a patriot than he is an absolute king. No less amiable as a legislator than admirable as a hero. He is in no point a plunderer, and in all a protector of his people. By the savings of economy, in peace, he has gloriously sustained a war against half Europe, without making any new levies of revenue upon his subjects. He has reformed the laws of his kingdom, and has established the proceedings of justice upon such a footing as to make the prosecution of right cheap, speedy and certain to all. He has ennobled his country by cultivating the sciences, ornamented it by an encouragement of the fine arts, and strengthened and enriched it by an assiduous improvement of such as are useful. All merit is sure to find its reward from him, all iniquity its chastisement, and all vice and worthlessness a due discountenance. Is it therefore to be wondered at that his dominions are flourishing, that he is the idol of his people, and successful in all his undertakings? Not such are the natural effects of wise means steadily applied for general encouragement and advantage. Honour being his influencer in every thing, which seeks its solace in the applause of mankind, we see it inspiring the same worthy ambition in all who act under him; and even in the very meanest of his subjects. Hence are his soldiery and servants more solicitous to acquire praise than profit; and hence are the ensigns of his new and wisely-established order of *Merit* worn with a satisfaction that inherited titles and descended estates cannot give.

But, alas, all these blessings and advantages are, by the despotism of sovereignty, made to depend there upon the virtue and abilities of the prince. For should this mighty and glorious monarch have unfortunately a weak, vicious or wilful successor, his acquisitions will all, probably, be soon lost again; panders and parasites will disgrace his illustrious orders; justice will be sold; industry oppressed; and *Brandenbourg* perhaps sink into the condition that we see *Saxony* now reduced to; a country of more natural fertility and strength, that has been ruined by a tyrannical and luxurious government.

In *France* we see honour operating more constitutionally, and therefore with a corresponding permanency to the state. The crown there is not so absolute as to endanger the safety of the kingdom. And while government

government avails itself of a principle of honour amongst the nobility and military officers, the civil jurisdiction, in their parliaments, catches the same spirit, and asserts an honourable privilege of controlling sovereignty in such furies of power as might, from wantonness, otherwise prove dangerous to all. From them the same principle pervades even lower orders of the people: and from thence arises that general union which establishes their national strength. Was the sovereign to acquire a more absolute power than he has, the great cement of affection would be lost: with individual consequence individual spirit would decline, or ferment into faction: one of which evils would bring danger, and the other debility to the state.

The very lowest people of France, who are out of the reach of privilege and in general too much treated as slaves, it should however be remarked, do not fight either as soldiers or sailors with that willingness or resolution that others do who are inspired with an higher opinion of their own consequence, though the rights that animate the latter are often no more than shadowy, or merely ideal. It may be observed, also, that their vulgar in civil life are the easiest of all people persuaded to quit and live out of their own country; and appear less attached to it by affection than vanity. From hence is seen the advantage, though but in opinion, of privilege: and the making of men think that their own interests are connected with those of their sovereign. Were the common rights therefore but a little more extended in France than they are, it cannot, I think, be doubted but that their common strength would be proportionably augmented thereby.

In the mean time their policy is apparently refined, in making honour so stimulating a principle amongst them. Praise and esteem, which are the foundations of it, are no less laudable than useful incitements: and perhaps most happy are those men who are so fortunate as to acquire and be contented with the enjoyment of them. Experience daily shews us that great wealth and high titles are often fruitless possessions to their owners, ill compensations for the sacrifice of honour, and the creators of little respect without a personal display of ennobling qualities.

We hear that after the battle of *Rosbach*, his *Prussian* majesty found, amongst the baggage of the *French*, a great number of the ensigns of their inferior military orders, that were entrusted with the general for his bestowal on such as signalized themselves in the service of their king and country. These badges of superior and regal approbation are tokens, that, in *France*, recommend their wearers to public esteem, from their having been acquired by public merit; and are therefore aspired after by a worthy emulation. A cheap and effectual way, this, of rewarding and promoting a generous, noble and manly disposition. Should their court maxims ever alter so as to indulge their colony governors, and state, military and civil officers, with the same kind of gratifications that it allows to those hated and despised instruments of rapine, the farmers general of the revenues, a greater despotism might perhaps be acquired thereby; but it would be at the expence of the spirit, power, glory and commerce of the nation; which would all evaporate in the experiment, and be lost.

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To be convinced of the truth of this opinion, we need but examine the condition of their neighbouring kingdom of Spain; where honour, justice and strength were once as eminently conspicuous as they have been for a long time declining, and are now, almost beyond the traces of existence, destroyed.

Their gothic government was, as in all other kingdoms, founded in virtue, equity and a due temperament of legislative and executive power. While their *Cortes* existed, their nobility were significant and illustrious; and such a principle of honour prevailed amongst all orders of the people, as made their probity proverbial throughout Europe. But what ill effects cannot an evil government produce? The abolition of their constitutional assemblies of the states of the kingdom soon put a period to their civil rights; while, from the erecting of their inquisition, they became as blind, ignorant and resigned bigots in all spiritual matters; alike liable to the rapine of their princes and their priests, and alike tyrannically awed, and unmercifully plundered by both. By their furious and almost undistinguishing expulsion of Moorish and Jewish families, they so depopulated their kingdom that it has never since been more than a third part peopled; and from the time of that hot-headed, outrageous and ambitious waster, Philip the Second, a succession of weak, vain-glorious and improvident princes, have squandered away the wealth of the state in idle projects that they pursued abroad, ever futile as they were evanescent. While at home they gradually weakened the kingdom by the fatal means that they too successfully employed for the increase of their own despotism.

Their nobility, who took the first taint from court productions, have led the way in all kinds of corruption, subserviency and degeneracy, and are become the most abjectly dependant and insignificant of any body of people of their order in the world. They have no weight or power whatever in the state: their very pride is so degenerated as to make them glory in servility; and they think themselves honoured and even favoured by the court from having employments given them in which they can ruin their fortunes, by an ostentatious discharge of duty therein. And then they seek their reward in a colony-government; where, by all sorts of plunder and oppression, they perhaps repair their former waste, besides an immense sum which they heap up for distributing at home, in order to screen themselves from the consequences of an enquiry into their iniquitous conduct. Their ideas of grandeur along with a sample of their wisdom, may be seen in the proceedings of the duke of Medina Celi, who is the first Grandee of Spain, and has perhaps the greatest inheritance of any subject in Europe; yet inadequate to the expence of an unlimited household. His family consists of many hundred persons; and is continually augmenting by servants in perpetuity, with their wives, offspring and kindred. This mistaken greatness is the highest indulgence of Spanish pride and glory, though alike useless and burthensome to particulars, and pernicious to the state. For surely in a depopulated country, the increase of idle persons must be ranked among the greatest of public evils. But what bad systems are not extreme vanity, folly and ignorance capable of adopting, and of pursuing with immovable perseverance?

Among

Among the more immediate creatures of despotism still greater enormities abound. In all public offices, robbery and rapine even riot without restraint; while, in the administration of the laws, all justice is notoriously and unmercifully set to sale. Trade there is almost all turned into monopolies; and the several branches of the revenue are farmed out to greedy and insatiable fleecers of the people: But, contrary to the usual policy of arbitrary governments, the soldiery is there least regarded of all their instruments of power, and they are proportionably bad to the encouragement they receive: and therefore theirs is more a civil than a military despotism. In this, if Spain has yet a remaining hope, that hope will be found to have its strongest foundation.

The worthiest part of the Spaniards are those in the inferior stations: and how long they retained some of the good qualities of their ancestors, the following relation will discover.

When Philip the fifth mounted the throne of Spain, it is well known that we took part with his competitor Charles of Austria. On which event, our merchants quitting that kingdom, left their dependencies, as usual, to the care of Spaniards. The court, well knowing we must have effects there, tried by all means, but in vain, to get the necessary informations for sequestering them. At last an expedient was thought of which they judged must prove infallible: a bull was obtained from the Pope, of excommunication against all who should persist in concealing English property. This measure did indeed stagger the resolution of the Spanish merchants; and they ~~had~~ ^{had} thereon, for counsel, to their confessors. Those confessors, most of whom were Jesuits, all, to a man, told them, that as the matter related not to religious faith, they were to look upon the bull only as a tyrannical act of civil power, which could not conscientiously discharge them from the duties of a trust voluntarily accepted, to the prejudice of innocent and absent persons; and which if they violated, they would be infallibly damned for doing: in consequence of which determination, they all remained steady in the honourable acquittance thereof. This should be the less wondered at, as the old Spaniards held treachery in such abhorrence, that the very law that established confiscations stigmatizes informers; for, after assigning the proportions for other uses, the very words of it are, and so much for the villain that informs. I have been well assured there never was but one trust of this kind violated in that kingdom; and that the man who did it, though in a respectable station before, became therefrom so deserted by his relations and all mankind, ~~and~~ ^{at} last, miserably to die in a ditch.

But what will not time and evil examples corrupt? The whole Spanish nation are falling away apace from this and every other principle of honour. In vain, therefore, will their government labour, by occasional applications, to recover a national strength and prosperity, while the principles that should be the foundation of both, they are undermining for the establishment and support of their own unreasonable authority.

I shall, in my next paper, pursue my subject in a survey of Portugal, and shall conclude with some similar observations with regard to England.

WANTED TO BE SOLD OR EXCHANGED FOR THE
CHERALD,
OR
Patriot-Prclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XXIII.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY, 16, 1758.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

Such is the world's great harmony, that springs
From order, union, full consent of things :
Where small and great, where weak and mighty, made
To serve, not suffer; strengthen, not invade;
More pow'ful each as needful to the rest,
And, in proportion as it blesses, blest.

A HIGH sense of honour is sure to make men fearless alike of poverty, disgrace, and even death itself; which are not considered as the greatest of human evils, by noble minds; but often satisfactorily encountered in the pursuit of glory; and never suffered, for a single moment, to poise the ballance of judgment against the slightest hazard of lost reputation.

On the contrary, when riches; that command pleasures, are seen capable of expunging, the stains of dishonour, or of creating the respect that is due only to serviceable qualities, there can be no cause for wondering if we then behold the minds of men narrowing, and warping into so mischievous a bias as sinks all the satisfactions that should arise from a consciousness of public use and approbation, into sordid self-love; such as the making of their own partial advantages the eternal objects of their pursuits; and the exposing therein of general welfare and the common security. Thus while a nation is precipitating to its ruin, particulars will separate themselves from the great bond of general union, and all be seen hunting individual solace. Wealth will become the universal object; be generally acquired by rapine and injustice, often enjoyed without dignity, and always dissipated in folly or vice: while in the mad scramble after the vainly-imagined

good things of the world, the common blessings and advantages of society, such as national dignity, power, prosperity and stability, become entirely unattended to, neglected, endangered and lost.

It is not ordinarily conceivable how strongly the principle of honour may be made to operate in the highest concerns of a community: or how necessary the encouragement of its spreading is for general welfare and safety.

While the Portuguese, for example, were a rising and glorious people; while they were extending their naval discoveries, establishing their conquests, and cultivating the commerce derived from them; there was a spirit of honour encouraged and displayed among them that rivalled all we read of in the most renowned ages of antiquity. In proof of which I shall select from the records of their numerous worthies, some of the shining actions of the great Don John de Castro, whose virtues were of a size with his talents, and they were alike deserving of everlasting remembrance.

In his younger years, he distinguished himself so highly in military service, first in Barbary and afterwards in India, that on his return from the latter country, where he had exercised a considerable command, he was rewarded by his sovereign with such gifts as, with his own slender inheritance, enabled him to live with œconomical affluence in retirement; a life that wisdom and virtue then alike influenced his choice of: and in the enjoyment of which, with a calm and regular display of all Christian, social and domestic duties, he employed his mind in deep and useful studies: for being a skilful mathematician for those days, on that, as well as other subjects, he is said to have wrote and published several valuable tracts.

In his retreat, which was at Sintra, on what is called the rock of Lisbon, one of the most delightful situations in the world, he had frequent friendly visits paid him by one of his sovereign's sons; who afterwards, without his solicitation or privity, recommended him to the King his Father for the high post of vice-roy of India; to which he was accordingly named in the year 1545, and, to his great surprise, immediately sent for to court to receive so very honourable a charge.

His departure for his government was speedy; where, in the exercise of it, he acquitted himself so ably and honourably in all points, as to give general satisfaction and gain universal applause. He exalted the fame of his country's arms, extended her dominions, and in civil rule was so equitable, indulgent and disinterested, as deservedly to become the darling of a people whom he made prosperous and happy. But as it is my intention to give his character only, and not his history, I shall but single from the latter such circumstances as I find necessary for investigating the former.

In one of his expeditions against the King of Cambaya, we read, that, on finding himself in great want of money for the support of his army, he dispatched an officer to the city of Goa to borrow a considerable sum, before whom he cut off one of his whiskers, and inclosed it in his letter to the magistracy as a pledge for the loan he required. There the high veneration

veneration that his unblemished integrity had established him ipcaused a larger sum to be immediately raised than he required: with which they returned again his offered pawn, accompanied with this endearing and polite answer, "that his honour was a sufficient pledge to them for all he asked, or for all that was in their power to oblige him with." But, on this occasion, he received a still stronger proof of the very high regard that his great virtues had entitled him to: for the ladies voluntarily contributed and sent him, at the same time, all the precious ornaments of their persons, as a farther succour in support of his public operations. But before these supplies reached him a rich booty had fallen into his hands: so that, when they were brought to his camp, he returned them untouched to their senders. And after having achieved many signal victories and subdued many important places, upon his going back, with his army, to Goa, the senate decreed him a triumphal entry into that city, in imitation of those made by eminent conquerors into ancient Rome. In the procession, a great number of banners and ensigns, taken from the enemy, were trailed on the ground; several chariots of spoils were likewise drawn, in which arms were ornamentally piled up and disposed; and six hundred selected prisoners, one of whom was of great distinction, were led fettered before him.

Thus happily, honourably and victoriously reigned this great patriot and hero, for the space of two years and eight months; when the affairs of his government unfortunately took another turn, principally from the imprudent conduct of subordinate commanders in various expeditions that he had sent them upon. These crosses created him much uneasiness of mind: but his happiness and life received a mortal wound from a rash breach of honour, in the violation of capitulations, that his own son *Don Alverio de Castro* had been guilty of; and which produced very fatal effects: for of the first he never tasted more, and the latter had but a very short duration. When a broken heart had brought him very near his end, he very carefully and honourably discharged the duty he owed to his king and country, by transferring his high trust and authority to a competent number of the most proper persons for so important a delegation: which when he had executed with all necessary formalities, he then requested of them to assign him, from the public revenues, wherewithall to buy him food for the little time he had to live. When he perceived the moments of his dissolution approaching, he publicly, and with great solemnity, received the holy sacrament; in which pious act, calling for a missal, and laying his hand thereon, he voluntarily took the following oath, *That in nothing had he ever benefited himself, through life, either by fraud or collusion, at the expence of his sovereign, the public, or any private person whatsoever, or had connived at the doing of it, by others, in any shape.* Then, after desiring his oath might be entered into the register of government, he finished the awful act of piety he was engaged in, and immediately expired in the arms of the prelate who was afterwards canonized by the name of *Saint Francis Xavier*, and is since stiled the apostle of India. Thus lived, in the constant exercise of honour, this great man: and thus did he die (from too strong a sensibility) the victim

victim of a breach of it, made by a son whom he dearly loved, and for whose misconduct therein, as he had by him been trusted with the honour of the public and unworthily abused it, he perhaps thought himself too much answerable. When his escrivane was examined, after his death, all the money he was found to have died possessed of was three reis; which make something less than a farthing of our coin: and that immediately on his voluntarily quitting the highest, most powerful, and most lucrative employment of his country.

Where such honour and virtue were sought after, esteemed and exercised, is it to be wondered at that a nation became prosperous, victorious and great? or ought it to be, with an indulgence and encouragement of all the opposite vices, that a people become miserable, abject and impotent? Portugal, during the reigns of three succeeding great kings, John the second, Emmanuel, and John the third (the last living at the time I am now writing of) by an exertion of ennobling qualities had been raised to the highest pitch of glory she ever reached; but from which she very soon irrecoverably fell. Sebastian, their next monarch came to the crown an infant; whose long minority weakened the kingdom: and the ill education he received, and the headstrong, enthusiastic and romantic disposition he acquired therefrom, soon sacrificed by one mad project all the painful achievements of toiling ages; precipitating the nation from an exalted pinnacle of prosperity into the deepest abyss of misery; into poverty, debility, and even the deplorable, dispiriting and hopeless condition of provincial subjection to their natural, hereditary, and most hated enemies.

When, contrary to the opinion of his counsellors and people (whose inclinations and powers were restrained from the want of successors to his crown in influential degrees) this young and unadvisable adventurer, by frantically engaging himself in moorish quarrels, had drained off the wealth and strength of his kingdom, and perished with all of them in one disastrous overthrow, by the loss, at once, of her king, her whole army, and the flower of her nobility, Portugal became so disconcerted and weakened as to fall a speedy and easy prey to Philip the second of Spain, and groaned under the yoke of that kingdom for above sixty years. During which time she lost, by Spanish broils, the best part of her valuable acquisitions in the east; and suffered greatly, at home, from her unnatural and tyrannical rulers: till grown impatient of her national losses abroad, the immense drafts from her of wealth by rapine, and of strength in people to fill Spanish armies and prosecute quarrels that nothing concerned her, with a violation of all her stipulated compacts of union, the noblest of her spirits at length fermented into such desperation as engaged a few great minds, who inherited some of the high qualities which had so gloriously renowned their forefathers, to join in an endeavour for the rescuing of their country. And accordingly, at the end of the year 1640, they suddenly arose in behalf of the house of Braganza and their own antient constitutional rights, and, against all the chances of probability, by persevering fortitude and invincible honour succeeded.

With

With the restoration of their natural kings; they asserted and established their own legal liberties. Their national cortes, or parliaments, levied the necessary taxes for the support of government: and every order of the people recovered the enjoyment of very valuable privileges. But, alas! having trusted more than wise subjects should to the gratitude and goodness of a royal family whom they had so highly obliged; along with the narrowing operations on knowledge; of a religion supported by blind bigotry and the rigorous persecutions of an inquisition; the corruptions of a long peace; and the court-sappings of judicial integrity; they have insensibly suffered the whole frame of their legal constitution to resolve into the most absolute despotism; and their spirits to subside to the lowest degree of abject servility; without even a shadow remaining, or a vestige to be seen, of those rights that they were originally possessed of, and so lately restored to.

With the entire loss of their liberties; their morals, their principles, their courage, their industry and their strength, have worn down. And though they are not, as yet, quite stript of all their good qualities; yet those that remain with them have their strong biaffes to error, and are therefrom degenerating apace into bad ones. Vanity and pride, the first violently indulged and the latter ill placed, the sure and generating evils of sinking states, are hurrying them apace to their ruin. These, with the most shameful corruptions and prostitutions of justice, are evils that are there eradicating all the principles of true honour, relaxing the nerves of power, and loosening the great bands of society. So that, as the next king of Spain will bring with him to the throne of that kingdom a very strong hereditary claim to the crown of Portugal, it is not to be doubted but that the first of his successors who is an able and enterprizing prince will vigorously prosecute that claim; especially as, with regard to his subjects, he cannot engage in a more popular undertaking: for of the independence of Portugal there is hardly a Spaniard who can even so much as discourse with temper, or that even uses a decency of speech towards that nation. Little doubt can therefore be entertained that they will be again subjected; and when they are so, the bonds that fetter them will probably be forged so strong as to become quite indissoluble.

And co-operating to this fatal end appear the governing maxims of the present court of *Portugal*, who are, in the pursuit of the wildest despotism, destroying all that honour in which the strength of monarchies consists; by pollutions in all the operations of power, and corruptions in the administrations of justice. They harass, oppress and disgust all orders of their people, by encroaching the farmings out of their government revenues; by disabling commerce, from turning it into monopolies; by prostituting the order of nobility, from admitting unworthy persons into it; but most of all from overturning the system of a noble body of ancient laws, by an unceasing promulgation of new ones; repugnant to sound policy, corruptive of good practice, and universally disanimating to the people; most of them being even framed with an asperity that makes them unexecutable. To these mischievous evils is to be added another, that in the end may perhaps prove the most fatal to them of all, which is a disposition to disoblige

oblige all other nations, from this false though specious opinion, that it is to the advantage of no one to quarrel with them; and that with the worst of provocations, and even when the bias of pecuniary interest is removed (which they are too violently labouring in every thing to do) that, from a meer jealousy of one another, the several nations of Europe will always contribute to their support. Whereas such a dependence experience should convince them may fail: and that unceasing disgusts may make even their most natural allies grow indifferent to their interests: or tempt them to accept a gratuity for the giving of them up. This at least may become the case with respect to Great-Britain, whose subjects would never suffer their government to desert them while they receive from them fair usage; but, with an encrease of contrary treatment may, perhaps, be provoked to compell measures that would bring on their final destruction.

Spies and informers, insulters and oppressors of the people, those now most caressed, and the only triumphant in Portugal: where an impotent and, in general, illiterate nobility are bowed to servility, and an iniquitous body of judges are abusing justice from favour or for money; alike contributing therein, to the destroying of all morals and the disanimating of all worth. Such are the mournful effects of perverted or annihilated honour; ever contributing to weakness, dejection, and, what must be consequent of their establishment, national overthrow and ruin.

These people, who towards the middle of the thirteenth century deposed their king Sancho the second, and also so lately as in the year 1667 Afonso the sixth, for incapacity and bad government, and both of them for the express error of being swayed by evil counsellors and pernicious favourites, have so effectually lost all their ancient spirit and sense of constitutional rights, as tamely to suffer themselves to be dragooned by a few hungry soldiers, and propertied away in the plunder of a combination of civil harpies. What happened lately in the tyrannical and cruel proceedings at Oporto, in support of one of the vilest measures that any government ever adopted, and the supineness thereon of the rest of the nation, are melancholy proofs of their great national degeneracy. And indeed what all orders of them are continually suffering from a minister they hate and execrate, are so many instances of their altered principles: for their oppressions are such as they would not have suffered, hardly in a single instance, fifty years ago from one whom they had even respected in an eminent degree. To what can this be owing but a loss of that honour which once made them a great and valuable people? and to what does the undermining of that ennobling principle tend, but the very loss of dominion to a misguided sovereign family who must, in the end, fall with their trampled and debilitated subjects?

Having amplified beyond my intention in this view of Portugal, I must affix to another paper what I have to observe, on this subject, relating to my own country.

THE
HERALD,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XXIV.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY, 23, 1758.

To be continued every THURSDAY.

And say, to which does our applause belong,
This new court jargon, or the good old song?
The modern language of corrupted Peers,
Or what was spoke at *Creasy* and *Poitiers*?

I
If we attentively examine the history of our own nation, an impartial mind will be sure to gather from it this conviction, that no king of ENGLAND ever was great or happy but in proportion as the principle of HONOUR apparently operated in his government; and that with an honourable administration of government, the same principle has been sure to operate strongly among the people, alike to the glory and for the good of all. A great, a divine truth! pointed out to us by the finger of the Almighty! and at which we need but to look for the surest of all certainties, demonstrative conviction.

This is undeniably exemplified in almost every remarkable occurrence before the conquest. But our accounts of those remote ages being more dark and dubious than of the times posterior to that memorable event, I shall confine my principal observations to the reigns of which we have the incontrovertible testimonies of records, and the undisputed relations of historians.

On the accession of the first Norman *William*, improperly styled the *Conqueror* (for how rightly soever he may have been called the *Vanquisher of Harold*, he certainly was not such of the nation) from a too ready acceptance of him for their king, the people became enslaved by a power they had rashly entrusted him with. But after they were subjected to his brutal will, it must be observed, that he was proportionably no more great or happy than themselves. He so enfeebled his power by his des-

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potism, that we read of no wonderful feats of arms atchieved afterwards by him : while the very tyrannies that he exercised shew that he must have been made as miserable from his fears and suspicions as his people were by his cruelties ; ever doubting the success of his endeavours, as invasive tyrants cannot help doing, for establishing his own darling despotism on the perfidious subversion of their natural and legal rights. The reasonableness of which dread was evinced by the practices of his successors ; who, most of them, stipulated, for their succession to his crown, the restoring of the ancient laws and constitution of the kingdom. Which solemn compacts few of them afterwards observing, they became the grounds of eternal contentions and unhappiness. For though some of them were not entirely void of good qualities, yet all were deficient in the governing principle of honour ; and correspondent therewith were the misfortunes and uneasinesses they encountered, the people never losing the remembrance of their rights, and rarely neglecting opportunities for asserting them. Thus was the crown seldom respected abroad, and the wearers of it as seldom seen happy at home : misery and misfortune being alike entatted upon the ever-discordant and ever-struggling vassals and their sovereigns.

At length, under the wilful and over-bearing *John*, the contention for prerogative and privilege ran so high, that both parties became alike endangered from the prosecution of their claims by open war. And thereupon their differences were happily compromised in the signing of that great *Charter of Rights* which was, if not the foundation, the restorer and ascertainer of our yet-existing noble constitution ; the finest in its framing and most permanent induration of any that ever was established upon earth.

Having premised thus much of dishonourably-administrated despotism (and how rare a thing is it to see it operating otherwise !) let us now take a survey of our government and the effects of it in a legal and wholesome-restrained situation, which it has, or ought to have been in from that lucky *era*. This my subject requires to be done only in a summary and general manner : and therefore I shall merely single out the best and worst reigns for that purpose.

Of the former, those of *Edward the first*, *Edward the third*, *Henry the fifth* and queen *Elizabeth*, are the most distinguished. All of whom were glorious and happy in themselves, gracious to their people, fortunate to the kingdom, and have been constantly honoured in remembrance. Of the latter, those of *Henry the third*, *Edward the second*, *Richard the second*, *James the first*, *Charles the first*, *Charles the second* and *James the second*, have been the most remarkable. All of whom were, on the contrary, unregarded or despised by foreign states, were wretched in their lives and many of them more so in their deaths, four out of the seven being deposed from government, and three of them depriv'd of life : all of them severe scourges of their people, and tyrannical invaders of the constitution : they were unfortunate to the realm, and have had their memories execrated by succeeding generations.

But to examine more narrowly the effects of honour in government we should most attentively contemplate the reigns of *Edward the third* and queen

queen Elizabeth, the two, beyond all others, the most shining in *English Story*. In the former, gallantry and greatness of mind shone with such lustre on the throne as made the same qualities fashionable throughout the nation. The might of the king was established on the confidence and good will of his subjects; and those were obtained by an experienced tenderness in him for public rights, and an apparent zeal for the general prosperity. Edward had the honourable wisdom to endear himself no less to his people by the goodness of his laws and the equal administration of government than from the greatness of the victories achieved by his arms. And therefrom he deservedly had the wills, bodies and purses of his subjects alike ever at his command. Honour was the great cement of union: and that union created a strength that made them alike formidable and glorious: made them feared, courted and admired by the whole world. In that reign it was that we had two kings prisoners at our court. Then was founded the illustrious order of the *Garter*, and bestowed with such dignity, from a high regard to merit, as made all the sovereigns and heroes of *Europe* emulous of being distinguished by its ensigns. Then it was that we performed such feats of arms as have ever since been the glory of our own nation and the envy of all others. Lamentable indeed were the loss of an heroic son, his heir of empire; the factions that arose therefrom, and the effects of the infirmities of age towards the close of this reign. *Edward*, for the lustre of his own fame, lived too long: his decline of life served but to contrast the vigour of it; and shewed him as opposite to himself, as the conduct of weak princes is to that of wise ones: in all means and effects, feeble, injudicious and unhappy.

With still more enlightened wisdom, and with a more permanent confidence, did the honour of *Elizabeth* shine forth. She succeeded to the rule over a people whose passions had been inflamed and whose principles had been corrupted by the frequent changes of religion and the partial practices of rival parties through three preceding reigns. Her very title to the crown was disputable: and there was such a turbulence of spirit in the nation as must have made her sway extremely feeble and precarious if, from the force of her own genius, she had not wisely resolved to establish her strength in the influential honour of an able and steady administration of power: the good effects of which she made to answer even her highest expectations. By this great and good principle she awed her domestic enemies into an acquiescence of her right to reign over them; and rooted herself in the approbation and affections of her people. With this she overcame the might and malice of popery, established a religious reformation, and a civil one along with it. She awed *Scotland*, quelled an inveterate and dangerous rebellion in *Ireland*, defied the whole power of *Europe*, spread a terror of her arms in remote countries, dismembered the formidable *Spanish* monarchy, repelled a most tremendous invasion, made distant conquests, planted strengthening colonies, erected a naval strength never known in the nation before, and wisely and happily laid the broad foundation of all that immense commerce, which through so many channels has since conducted such floods of wealth into this kingdom.

All these blessed and glorious effects were produced by the surely-operating means of regal *wisdom* and *honour*. Her conduct engendered no suspicions of partial, selfish or vain-glorious views: the obvious objects of her pursuits were the glory of her crown, and the safety, prosperity and happiness of her people. She asked no supplies but for the common good, and husbanded them with an apparent frugality that entitled her to, and secured her, the fullest confidence. Her own gallantry of spirit, and disinterestedness of mind inspired an exertion of the same genetous and ennobling qualities in all her subjects. Her ministers lived honourable and died poor. Her commanders fought bravely for no higher rewards than her approbation and their common share of advantages in the good of the community; while private men contributed their wealth and abilities to the same worthy purposes. She fostered no factions, but made her government superior to a support from their sordid and narrow operations. She suffered no oppressions to take root or subsist, but even voluntarily recalled her own royal grants whenever she found they had a tendency to the producing of such evils. Her ears were ever open to just complaints, and her heart and hand as ready to administer redress. Public officers then exacted no perquisites, national commanders fattened on no abuses, and court merchants contracted for no jobs. Honour was the great stimulating principle in all; from which her annals shine unrivaled in the history of *England* and of *Britain*.

When we read of a voluptuous prince, his honour and interests sold by rapacious and luxurious ministers and favourites, as *Philip de Comines* tells us *Edward* the IVth, of *England*, was to *Lewis* the XIth, of *France*, (who has given to the World, in his *memairs*, even a list of the bribes and pensions employed for that vile purpose, along with the names of the traitors who received them) ought we to wonder that infamy and misery were the portions of a sovereign and people so basely abused and so treacherously dealt by! No: where virtue and wisdom are wanting in a king, honour and integrity never flourish at his court, nor can safety and prosperity be the portions of his people. The heedless inattention and contaminating vices of the king I am now writing of, perhaps infused that dissoluteness of principle among the people which paved the way for his brother's usurpation of the crown, with the barbatus extirpation of his own male offspring.

Nor were the operations of different vices in *Henry* the seventh less fatal or less enfeebling to the nation. Cruel exactions dispirit industry, and the finews of a body politic are as much weakened by an over-drain of the vital moisture as by riotous distemperature: debility arising no less from dull indifference than from wanton debauchery. Cunning is very liable to overshoot its mark; and the very graspings of power frequently defeat its own ends. *Henry*, it is true, carefully avoided foreign broils. But had he been unavoidably engaged in them, his avaricious policy might, and probably would, have deceived him as much as that did by which he sought to strengthen the crown in permitting the alienation of lands from the great baronies; time having therefrom thrown as dangerous, and perhaps a more restrictive, power into the hands of the commons of the kingdom.

kingdom.' The want of an honourable moderation therefore was in him the want of true wisdom. And all the wealth his avarice scraped up had but its usual effects, in the making of his son a prodigal; and thereby heaping consequent calamities on a nation that his government, if honourable, would have made more prosperous; and therefrom his family have reaped surer and more lasting advantages.

It is almost needless to observe that in the weakness, prodigality and dishonour of *James* the first's government, the seeds of those disorders were sown that lost his rigid and obstinate son both crown and life, and sent his family into exile. Or after the tyranny of *Cromwell* at home, who never would have been endured but for his high support of national honour abroad, there can be no impartial reader of history so blind as not to see that the dishonour of *Charles* the second's government prepared the people for a resistance of his own sway, and the expulsion of his *Brother*.

How far short, for example, was the exclusion scheme of asserting a right (and which might have been their next step) to the dethroning of himself for an abuse of the regal power; which he could not but know himself to have been continually guilty of? and for what did he run all those hazards, but to obtain means for lavishly gratifying harlots and harpies? for this he sold *Dunkirk*; for this he continually babbled and disgusted his people; for this he meanly became the pensioner of his natural enemy, and the enemy of his natural friends and allies; for this he dishonoured his court of kings-bench, by introducing into it all the iniquitous practices of an infamous and tyrannical star-chamber: in short, for this he dishonoured his own name, destroyed his own happiness, made his people desperate, and laid the foundation of his family's extirpation. Evils and misfortunes that all owed their birth to a deficiency of honour, in him and in his councilors.

Charles had at least sagacity enough to foresee and foretell the consequences of his brother's blind bigotry and unpliant temper. What he therefore failed in taking care to prevent, it is not to be wondered at should come to pass. Honour, that in both the brothers was found so wanting on the throne, strengthened proportionably under persecution, among the people. United by common sufferings they grew mighty for resistance; and when the hour of trial came, the disaffection was found universal. Like dissolving snow before the sun, *James* saw his power melt and run off. And instead of a happy sovereign, as he might have been, from securing the affections of his people, he saw himself at once reduced to a condition pitiable by the meanest of his subjects. He abjectly fled for safety, from three powerful kingdoms that he had reigned over, to exist upon charity, die in exile, and leave a posterity to become homeless wanderers of the earth.

What has followed I shall not comment upon: but proceed, in general, to observe that all experience shews us kings only are, or can be, mighty and happy from the encouragement and exercise of honour. Bad as we are persuaded to believe of mankind, this great truth is evident from all observation, that communities are ever grateful to good governments. Kings may endanger their own safety by despotism, but never can by an honourable, mild and legal sway. It is therefore not only

more

more glorious but also more safe for them to rule by wholesome laws than by a military force; for that power, when they rule by it, will be sure to endanger and awe them: and a mercenary people or spirit is rarely found merciful or forbearing.

Hurtful and opposite to all honour, it must be allowed, is every species of corruption. Its practices are disjointing to a community, and thereby enfeebling to a state. It turns harmony into discord, poisons all the springs of intercourse, pollutes and perverts justice, and eradicates all social and even natural affection.

I am not so chimerical as to imagine that the simplicity and innocence fabled by poets of the golden age is to be hoped for, or will be practised by mankind: or that the selfish passions are, or ought, to be destroyed in the human race. Far from it: under due influence and regulations they are natural, beneficial and good. But if, like the elements, they are, to society, blessings while under proper restraints; they are no less to be dreaded as the most destructive of evils when broke loose from order. In the right temperament and turn of selfish passions, the wisdom or wilfulness of government is then made most to appear; they are to be conducted to a good end by care, but if indulged too far, will certainly produce a bad one.

Without partial regards particulars cannot flourish, nor, consequently, communities. And though no thoroughly selfish man can possibly be a good one; yet, to a certain degree, every man ought to be self-interested; but no farther than is consistent with the good of society; every step beyond which boundary is towards a wild of equal disorder and danger.

States, in their transactions with one another, should practice strict honour, and as rigidly exact it: at least in our situation this rule of states policy is with the most safety and advantage to be pursued. And governments have it certainly in their power, by their own examples, to influence the practice of honour among subjects. Virtue may as easily be made fashionable as vice; and the good effects of it are alike obvious in particulars and societies. If therefore the end of government is, as it ought to be deemed, for the good of the governed; all practices that tend to general evil, the general body, for their own welfare and safety, have not only a right to resent but also to resist; and resistance or ruin will be the sure consequence of a resolute and suffered indulgence of their progress.

T H E
H E R A L D,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XXV.

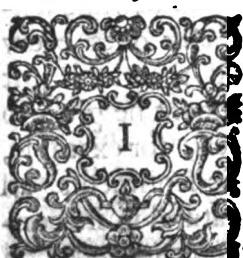
THURSDAY, MARCH, 2, 1758.

Contending *theatres* our empire raise,
Alike their labours, and alike their praise.

POPE.

To the HERALD, &c.

SIR,



Do assure you that I am a well-wisher to all ingenious men, and therefore, as I think you appear to have some understanding, I should be glad to see you employed in another kind of writing, such as is more adapted to the genius of the age, and which might procure you more readers, and consequently turn you to better account than that which you are now pursuing.

Indeed, Mr. Tell-Truth, you may rail at the times and your betters as long as you please, but you will certainly find, in the end, that it will be to no manner of purpose; for you will be little read and still less regarded. Have not several of our most eminent writers, of late, given it as their opinion, that there never was an happier age or nation in the world than what we now live in? And while we have such good testimonies of the blessings in our power to enjoy, can you believe that wise and good people will not be willing to possess them in quiet? And pray to what purpose is all your railing at placemen and pensioners? Can you imagine that any man will think he ought not to make the most of an employment, or accept of a pension if he can get it? Nay if two pensions or ten places, with all their perquisites, could be procured, would not you take them, and ride with more satisfaction in a coach and six than you now walk on foot, as I am sadly afraid it is your ill luck to do? But if you have so bad a taste as to like, or so humble a spirit as to be contented with, poverty and perambulation, pray see do not pretend to persuade other people out of higher and happier opinions; which if you will persist in vainly endeavouring to do, it should be no cause for wonder to you to find your counsels despised, your writings neglected, and your principles laughed at by all mankind.

But not contented, with abusing our morals, you are so presumptuous as even to arraign our taste also; a trespass for which you must look for VOL. I.

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very little quarter from well-bred people I assure you. But, oh! what could excite your malignant mind either to breed or midwife into the world such a viperous birth of inveteracy as we have seen, from the *Herald*, attacking poor dear Mr. *Roscius*? that paragon of all perfection, who is at once the delight, the wonder, and the glory of our times!

Sir, be advised, change your subjects in time, and make not enemies of the whole world. The ladies resolutely assert and will openly possess the right of admiring what and obliging whom they please: and all accomplished gentlemen so contribute to the upholding their Tway, that wise and good-natured husbands and fathers now carefully avoid disputing their tastes and opinions, or thwarting their inclinations in any thing. While therefore they establish it a fashion to follow and adore *Roscius*, you only hazard universal indignation by pretending to check the impulses of mode and prepossession, and by offering to controul judgments that are above the restraint of such laws as regulate and prescribe principles and conduct for the vulgar.

Say whatever you will, persons of refined judgments and délicate sentiments are resolved to believe and perceive that Mr. *Roscius* does every thing in his power to oblige and entertain the town, and that he is just and generous to the highest degrees in the due encouragement he gives to all genius that he finds worthy of public favour. Witness, for example, *Agis*; astonishing, instructing *Agis*! so full of patriotic sentiments, all happily adapted to the circumstances of our times; so natural in its conduct, so abounding with interesting and surprizing incidents and such strongly contrasted and masterly-delineated characters; so pure in its manners, so full of coherence, of plots, imprisonments, dangers, distresses, circumstances for attitudes, of choruses and processions! all so naturally introduced, so beautifully variegating, with so *Shakespearean* a wildness and such a harmony of dissonances, as make nothing wanting but a buffoon, with dances of devils, tapestry figures, elbow chairs, swains, nymphs and turks; so chronological a masque as that of a sultan's amours, and with a witch riding in a flying chariot; to make it so pretty a farcical, operatical, pantomical tragedy, as even to vie with, nay exceed, that of *Dioclesian* itself.

But, as I have the interest and honour of true genius greatly at heart, I cannot help here offering to the consideration of our mighty *Roscius* some hints for the improvement of a piece so exquisitely plann'd and written, so powerfully recommended and so expensively exhibited; on which if he will once more club his great capacity with a great author's, they may make *Agis*, for another winter's representation, exceed, both for profit and applause, every thing that has hitherto been produced on the stage: and he himself acquire therefrom an immortality of fame, for establishing true taste and displaying that first power of sublime genius called invention, which (to the lamentable misfortune of the highest and most important of all human arts) even acting itself cannot give.

And first, I would have the music of the recitatives and choruses for that elegant procession in the second act new composed, and all made to minuet time; that the minuet step may be used, as the minuet figure

ture is, in its progress: and instead of being told how they were attacked, I would have them all dance it back again, though in a kind of disorder, and to quicker time, pursued by their assailters; which will be a sort of route, or flight, quite new and unprecedented. Then as (to supply the necessary chasms of time for the conduct of action) there are observed to be rather too great an abundance of instructive soliloquies, I would advise that some of them should be changed for entertaining dances; such as hornpipes by the heroes, and sarabands by the heroines, which the latter might heighten by castanets, that they should have ready in their pockets to take out and make use of. But, for still greater variety, where *Lysander* is in prison, and makes his fine philosophical soliloquy, in the fourth act, I would advise his silence, and attention to an aerial dance of the guardian genii, to the music of the spheres; which would be an improvement of the Dance of devils to the same tune in *Dioclesian*, and a stroke that could not fail of exciting the highest admiration in all beholders.

And as *Agis* is too public-spirited a king, and too good a man, to be so unjustly and barbarously butchered as he now is, I am for admitting the operatical licence of restoring him to safety, at all events; especially as it can be done by a method that will greatly elevate and surprise. Suppose then that, in the last grand procession, his bier should be set down in the middle of the stage, where it is now held up, and the bearers all be made to dance round it: during which, a sorceress might burst from the suit of armour borne behind him, and, after a circular flight, settle upon the stage, where waving her wand, it should immediately thunder and lighten, and the mob of death-hunters, who now follow the corpse with bits of lighted candles in their hands, I would have transformed into infernal spirits, with flaming torches; who, in a grand dance, should seem to endeavour at approaching the bier to set it on fire, but by the sorceress's waving her wand all the while they should appear as unable to get at it; and so after many trials give over the attempt. At length, with other wavings of the sorceress's wand, the parts of the bier and all the staves of trophies should fly away; and *Agis* spring upon his legs, with his robe elegantly tucked about him. At the same time the dowager queen's black vestments and outward case should all fall off, and discover a most beautiful princess whom *Agis* should recognize for his queen, that he and the audience has supposed dead; and they should conclude all with a merry jigg together; the rest of the personages figuring, at the same time, all in a grand dance round them. This would be making it an admirable piece, indeed! a piece worthy of the high taste of the elegant age it is produced in.

For the sake alike of fame and profit, Sir, let me persuade you to exercise your thoughts and pen on similar subjects, and you may depend that you will not want encouragement from the town, nor from the managers of the playhouses. And to influence you as much as possible to such an undertaking, permit me even to propose to you a subject to begin with, which I am inclined to believe an extraordinary good one.

You cannot be ignorant of the success of Colonel Clive in the East-Indies, whose victory, I have heard some staff-officers say, is a very pretty

one, for a man who has not been regularly ~~used~~ to the service. Now I am strongly of opinion, Mr. Tell-Truth, that his victory is a proper subject for a good pantomime, which might be so-composed and represented, as to be a sure and handsome way of immortalizing it. I should therefore be glad to have such an one undertaken time enough to insure its exhibition next winter; and I think it may be called, *Harlequin Clive, or the Nabob defeated*. This I indeed would have done for more reasons than one; as particularly to do him honour and at the same time improve our own taste. For I think that I have heard Bengal is not in China; and therefore as they are another kind of people, they have, to be sure, other fashions and arts, some of which may, I hope, be well worthy of our adoption.

I know a good many of my friends who begin to be horribly weary of Chinese rails, architecture and ornaments; and really, Sir, they have kept in so long, that for the good of trade as well for the gratification of taste, it is, I think, high time we should have a set of entire new edifices and fashions introduced among us.

Happily adapted to which great end I hold the subject to be that I have been so lucky as to hit upon and recommend to your most serious attention. Let us have but some pretty models in scenery, and all our Chinese temples will be presently transformed into Indian pagods, our rails be new framed, and our chimney-pieces new ornamented. Nay, as our free intercourse with France is at present unhappily cut off, what might not our achievements be even in the most important science of all, which you know is dress! If you could but procure the Nabob's seraglio to be rightly represented to us, what improvements might there not be made in the fancy and lightness of our summer dresses! instead of nankin breeches, beaux might wear muslin drawers, ornamented with pretty fringes and elegant tassels; and the lovely bodies of belles become only shaded with a transparent cloathing, so very thin, that along with the cupids of their eyes, we should behold the cupids of every part about them! oh! Sir, get but the models of these precious matters, and the whole town will adore you. Beauties and pretty fellows would ride upon one another's backs to catch at the charming things that please them, and you would be so crowded with customers and so courted for preferences, that you might put your own prices upon all you set to sale in a private way; while the public entertainment would be every night clapped, crowded and adored! and all hands in the nation, at once, become assiduously employed in perfecting the universal reformation of our taste. How many pretty strange dances might there be contrived of *Brains*, *Bamians*, *Elephants*, *Dromedaries*, *Camels*! I am in extacies with but even thinking of them! The dear *Dromedary* and *Camel*! have you not remarked the sweet things that are published about those surprizing animals in the news-papers! so new, so elegant, so sprightly, and so much in the stile of *Roscius's* compositions, that I am not sanguine in the opinion he only can be the author of them.

Take my advice then, good Mr. Tell-Truth, and, for the love of riches and reputation, wisely improve the hints I give you for the good of the

public and to your own great advantage; towards which, in a proper way,
I shall be as ready to contribute as any one; who am, with the greatest
Sincerity,

S. I. R.

Your real well-wisher, and

most obedient, humble servant,

LANCELOT LITTLEPIN.

To the HERALD, &c.

Old Moralist,

WHY do you batter your withered brains and weary your iron lungs with making dull proclamations that no-body attends to: for, with all your fine flourishes of words, your readers think and talk of you as no better than a cackling grey gander. Threlh the earless sheaf then no longer, like an unprofitable labourer as you are, but take my advice and turn your hand in time to works that may prove more satisfactory to others and serviceable to yourself. Give your weaky genius a merry *gee-beep*, you old buck, and let us have some mirth and pastime for our two-pences; which we shall then contribute with more hearty good will than at present, and so you will thrive by your deavours and may perhaps grow better humoured. What signifies your telling us of dangers that no-body cares to hear of? Did a breaking tradesman ever like to look into his accounts? or a jolly lord to be teased with admonitions upon the encrease of mortgages on his estate? No, no: it is time enough to lament misfortunes when we begin to feel the effects of them. Do you pretend to wisdom and know the world no better than to think it is to be scribbled into sobriety and moderation? you deserve to wear the ears of *Midas*, or, as some people think, to loose your own, for officiously intermeddling in matters that are out of your sphere, and in a manner that can only tend to embarrass the measures of great men and interrupt the happiness of honest, merry fellows.

If you'd contrive to furnish us with some good carousing songs or waggish conceits, we'd thank you, toast your health and heartily contribute to your prosperity. And would you but make them luscious enough, they'd have special sale among the females, I assure you: then every woman of spirit throughout the kingdom would make you the constant topic of her conversation, and ev'n the very saints of the sex would all con you attentively over in their closets, and with great inward satisfaction openly inveigh at your immodesty. Don't you know on what their empire is founded? And by what helm they guide the barque of their power and interests? By aiming to make men too wise the women will consider you as the underminer of their authority; and however openly they may disguise their sentiments, you may depend they will all in secret combine against the preacher up of too much prudence and reserve; which, if permitted to grow into fashion again, would highly endanger their being reduced

duced to the misery of practising good houswifery, and the solacing of themselves with the dull comforts of domestic happiness.

Do you not observe how little parsons are attended to by polite people in our days, at least those of them who are so saucily self-sufficient as to dogmatize to their betters? take warning then by their miscarriages, and be assured, old Dry-bones, that we want diversion not instruction; as you may plainly perceive by the throngings of audiences and the thinness of congregations.

And what a ridiculous potter have you and a parcel of other scribblers kept about the hardness of the times and the miseries of the poor: whereas there never were such provisions and accommodations made for them as at present, insomuch that none of them need suffer but from their own follies, as I shall now take the liberty to make appear.

And first for infants, is there not the foundling hospital always open to receive them? for larger children are there not parish schools? for grown boys the marine society, to fit them out for the sea and procure ships to receive them? and cannot girls walk the park and other public places by day, and the streets by night, and pick up a very comfortable livelihood? nay when they even meet with misfortunes in the way of trade, are there not hospitals in abundance to take care of them? had able fellows ever more encouragement than at present for turning sailors or soldiers? and are there not work-houses and alms-houses in all parishes to take care of the maimed and decrepid of both sexes? for shame, then let us hear no more of the wants or sufferings of the poor, as none need endure any but such as are unworthy of commiseration.

But I chime in with your opinion that our women are a great deal too fond of *Roscius*, and thereby contribute to make him both too consequential and saucy. Where they run, you know the bucks and beaux must scamper after them: and upon my honour they talk of him so much, and with such pleasure, that I am inclined to think he is encouraged by it to give himself greater airs than are becoming in him, and to oppress genius to gratify his own greediness for gain. But people begin to say they will bear no more revivals of his old stale stuff, and for my own part, I do assure you, I shall be ready at any time to join in a riot for the encouragement of merit and learning, and for the good of my country; who am,

Old Scotus,

Your friendly Admonisher,

HARRY CIRCINGLE.

N. B. The letter signed H. Freeman has been received, and shall be published, with observations thereon, in my next paper.

THE
H E R A L D,
O R
Patriot-Proclaimer.

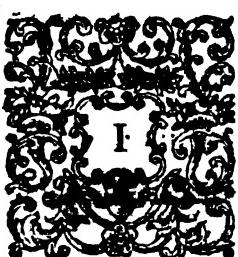
By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

N U M B E R XXVI.

T H U R S D A Y, M A R C H, 9, 1758.

A very small part of mankind have capacities large enough to judge of the whole of things; but catch at every appearance which promises present benefit, without considering how it will affect their general interest; and so bring misfortunes and lasting miseries upon themselves to gratify a present appetite, passion, or desire.

TRENCHARD.



HOPE the writer of the following sensible letter will excuse the liberties I have taken with it in such amplifications as I judged necessary for the publick's more readily comprehending his meaning, which in some periods I apprehended might have otherwise proved dark, and consequently been liable to misinterpretation.

As these publications were first calculated for, and shall be kept inviolably sacred to, the honest information of my countrymen, in what it is for their common interest to know and practise; and also to give them a just idee (founded upon facts and the fair deductions of reason) of men and measures, in what concerns the glory and good of all, without abetting the factious designs of any parties in or out of power, or of exposing, conniving at, or supporting the evil practices of others, but as they apparently tend to the endangering or enhancing of general honour and welfare, I think it not unnecessary here to repeat the invitation given in my first paper to all honest men, for their contributing such means as they are masters of towards so good an end as that of salutary reformation, either in rough materials or finished essays; which, as far as they are interesting or safe, shall be carefully improved, or freely communicated to the public.

To the H E R A L D, &c.

S I R,

If you will look into the votes of the H— of C—, you will find there an order for an account to be laid before them of the produce of the plate duty from year to year: which, if I am rightly informed, is preparatorily previous to a petition of the company of goldsmiths to be presented VOL. I. C c to

to that honourable house, praying an act may pass for the taking off that tax, which is six-pence *per ounce*, and in the room thereof to lay one of so much *per annum* on the venders of that commodity, to be raised by the taking out of licences for the carrying on of their business.

I beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to offer some remarks on this (I had almost said iniquitous) scheme, which I cannot but consider as pregnant with many evils. And therefore I shall take the liberty to examine it in several lights, and expose some of the mischiefs that I think it is likely to produce.

Under the influence of a gracious king, we are at present so happy as to think ourselves blest with a patriot administration. But as in power, any more than in life, they are not to be considered as immortal, it surely behoves us to be cautious how we sollicit, or unremonstrating submit to methods of taxation that may be oppressive and of evil example; and not become ourselves the proposers of measures which, so little a while ago as in Sir Robert Walpole's time, had like to have thrown us into national confusion.

As we cannot always be secure of having the best men in power, we surely should be cautionarily guarded against the practices of the worst; and not be instrumental in establishing a precedent which may be hereafter pleaded for taxing the whole trade of Britain through every branch, and even down to journeymen and labourers, as is, at this day, the practice to do in France.

That the goldsmiths trade may want regulations, especially in behalf of conscientious dealers, who certainly do not stand upon equal ground with their daring and desperate opposites, I most readily grant; giving credit, as I do, to what they relate themselves of the frauds continually practised by many of their brethren. But are there not more effectual and safer remedies to be thought of than such they are at present the proposers of? Surely there are; as, upon a candid examination, I hope and shall endeavour, with your permission, to make appear.

All at present (who work and pay duty) are obliged to have marks with the initial letters of their names; which marks being entered in the *hall book*, they are obliged to strike them upon all the pieces of work they present to be assayed. And as the trials at the hall subject the makers to be known by the excise office to have done such work, in order to defraud the revenue of the duty, the iniquitous part of the trade counterfeit the *hall* marks in their houses. This is the short matter of fact: and the plea for a new regulation is made specious by representing how prejudicial to trade and disgraceful to the nation it is to have our silver therefrom too frequently found worse than standard by foreigners, with the violation of marks that were formerly deemed sacredly just.

These allegations are undeniably so consequential as to merit our utmost attention for the providing of an efficient remedy; which I however can noways consider the proposed one to be. But what is made the check in the first case ought undoubtedly to be the same in the second; and so enforced by the weight of penalty as to secure its effectual operation. Bad men put out of one method of cheating will be so wicked as to invent another:

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another: and therefore, I am convinced, the very remedy proposed will afford so much opportunity and temptation to multiply frauds, that it may be found necessary for the trade to petition the parliament, in their next session; to re-consider the matter, and re-alter their law.

But if the honest goldsmith should ask, Are we to have no relief? I readily answer yes: and think a very obvious one presents itself that will prove both effectual and safe.

Plate has so greatly increased, in all nations, with trade, that it is become a kind of current specie in most, actually passing as such from one to another at a certain value. This being undeniably the case, sure proper care should be taken that the fair value of it be inviolably ascertained. Wherefore the law inflicts on an unauthorized man who cuts or possets a die for striking a crown piece, should be made the penalty of him who fraudulently makes, or is found with, the goldsmith's hall marks; and this be the case, and I warrant the grievance will become better removed than by any other method: and therefore there can be no necessity for extending, by the scheme at present under consideration, so oppressively unequal and odious a method of taxation.

The price of licences it is almost impossible to make otherwise than too light for great dealers and too heavy for little ones. This will of itself be creating a kind of monopoly hurtful to the public in general; and with dealers of small capitals and young beginners, discouraging to industry. Let me hope then that the proposal will be generously rejected.

Before I conclude, I must beg leave to observe that common fame reports a new tax is going to be laid on houses of two shillings in the pound to be levied on those who pay the window lights, and therefore, I presume, it will fall on the tenant. If so, let me recommend to the goldsmiths and their superiors to consider what a weight these conjunct taxes must be on the shoulders of the weak. For, thus loaded more than his neighbour, the small trader in plate ought to bargain at the same time for an extraordinary quantity of luck, or must resolve to exert an unusual portion of diligence, else submit to starve honestly; or turn rogue in his own defence. So that there are like to be necessity and temptation to evil created as means to promote industry and integrity.

I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

H. FREEMAN.

How far my correspondent's informations are facts I confess myself unable to determine. But taking them for granted, as I am inclined to do, they naturally lead me to the making of some interesting remarks, as well as to the pointing out of some similar truths, which are obviously notorious enough to be seriously alarming.

A desertion of principle and licentiousness of conduct, first displayed among the higher orders of people, have been long as evidently as happily

ppily extending themselves through each inferior rank, and are now come equally conspicuous in all.

Combination is universally become the word to plunder, and monopoly to exact : and the practice, both ways, is encouraged and enforced by the enormous weight of taxes as well as by the fashionable and unrestrained incitements to pleasure : so that allurement on one hand and impulsion on the other, are everlastingly counselling the dismission of conscience.

If we would promote union, strength and prosperity in the nation, reformation must begin where the evil first generated : the axe must be plied to the root of iniquity : to the corruptions and degeneracies of the great ; and to the systematical influence by money, which is founded on robbery and rapine.

Who, let me ask, have been the most openly active in loosening the bonds of religion, morality and integrity ; of every generous virtue and every social duty ? Who have they been that even exhausted contrivance, the extention of bribery, and exerted, nay refined upon, sophistry for the propagation of perjury ? Who have been the inventors, coverers and sharers in the profits of iniquitous jobbs ? Who the supporters of fraudulent, mischievous and fleecing monopolies ? Who have been the encravers and engrossers of lucrative employments ? Who the scandalous profiteers and shameless enjoyers of enormous and unmerited pensions ? Who have been the accumulators of fine-cures and the graspers at reversionary annuities ? And who have they been that notoriously and flagitiously assembled themselves together to violate the very laws which they had given their voices to establish ? Who have taken the pay and neglected the duty of all offices civil and military ? have intruded their relations and creatures into posts and employments they were unworthy of enjoying or incapable of executing ? And who have sacrificed, betrayed, and (if they have not even heretofore greatly belied abroad and too hardly judged of at home) even sold the interest and honour of their country to foreign nations ? Who have barbarously lavished the blood of Britons for partial and iniquitous purposes ? And who have deprest and starved the poor while they mortgaged posterity in pursuit of, or for supporting, alien interests ? Who have thrown aside, discouraged and destroyed, all moderation, modesty, integrity, sobriety, conscience, justice, honour, affection ; every religious and every civil tie ? Who, I say, but the powerful and exalted ; the eminent alike in iniquity and in station ? The abundant floods of corruption above, by degrees deluged, with their overflowings, all beneath : the pressures along with the examples of the great have necessitated while they taught the little, to become unmerciful preyers on one another.

Taxes have been made so oppressively heavy that patience and industry are even sinking under the burthens of them. There is hardly any living, or at least thriving, but by bad practices ; and therefore (necessitating an absorbed conscience) such have crept into, and are encroaching in, traffic and professions. Honest labour and useful arts can now be led no farther ; they already droop, are dispirited, and in danger of being lost.



Are not our eyes forced open to behold the fatally-operating effects engrossings and monopolizings in farming, and in the dealings in corn in cattle, and in fish? nay are they not apparently forming in almost every other kind of trade in which there is a possibility for their being introduced? The very restraint of the number of play-houses has, we see, had the same pernicious effects of erecting an oppressive, tyrannical, extortio-nate and rapacious monopoly: and this scheme of the goldsmiths, if true, seems to have a strong tendency to the same hateful purpose. What must, what can, these proceedings end in, but an enfeebling decrease of people, already become apparent; and a burthensome encrease of poor, a still more notoriously spreading evil?

I cannot here forbear observing another licentious species of spreading wickedness, which is the open, impudent and unbounded plunder of all literary property, made most remarkable by the compilers of *reviews*, *magazines*, *chronicles* and even *news-papers*; and also by *abridgers*, and *pirates* of every kind: insomuch that the traders in books now form themselves into confederacies for thievery and imposition, to the endangering of literature and the debasing of science. An evil that, to our national shame be it spoken, neither *law* or *AUTHORITY* have, as yet, the power effectually to prevent.

What kind of banditti practices are there wanting to be indulged or encouraged in these kingdoms, to entitle us to the character, as individuals, of the most selfish, profligate and plundering people upon earth? Do the clans of *Tartars* and *Arabs*, whom we are taught to term barbarous, do more than ourselves, who associate for rapine, and in support of iniquity?

Tax luxury, O ye rulers! and then we may become more moderate in our expences, and less rapacious in our pursuits. Set us shining examples of virtue, disinterestedness, oeconomy and self-denial, and it may be hoped we shall grow emulous of appearing and becoming good. Ease arts and manufactures, to load effeminating pleasures. Tax operas, play-houses, public gardens and resorts, French copperies, French fashions, and all un-naturalized instruments of luxury, folly, and enervating pleasures: lay a tax on the masters of all menial men servants, and treble it for those that are not of our own country. Such are the fit and only eligible objects of taxation. But spare poverty, sobriety and honest industry. Exert your utmost attention to restrain iniquitous craft of all kind, restore order, re-establish discipline, and make the spirit as well as the letter of your laws be regarded.

But the laws themselves require a serious review and purgation: regulation and reformation are much wanted for the proceedings of courts, and of practitioners therein, and relating to them; among whom such abuses have crept, and are become established, as make the prosecutions and defences of right often ruinous to those it belongs to, and give such openings and scopes for villainies of all kinds, as to render every sort of property precarious possessions to their owners, and to be often hardly maintained with an expence of their moiety. There are countries in Europe, where heavy fines are exacted towards the support of government alike

alike from those who make judicial demands unjustly, or who judicially dispute such as are just. I leave candour to decide how far a tax of this kind is become necessary in *England*, and whether such an one might not be made productive of the happiest consequences.

Instead, therefore, of contributing means for increasing evils and iniq;uities, it is high time wisdom and application should be assiduously exerted for the effectual removal of some of those we already so much abound with. We have been strongly inspired with a high expectation of seeing salutary reformation begun. And the nation, with an anxiously willing mind, has, for some months, stood in a calm and resigned suspense, attentively wishing and waiting to see a work so desirable commenced. But hitherto no means have been administered to their hopes; so that patience begins to grow weary of her credulity: and if some signal attempts are not speedily made, diffidence and disgust may grow clamorous again. A caution I think highly necessary to give to those who have a reliance to make on popularity for their support.

N.B. For the benefit of such as Dryden, somewhere, calls sucking critics, who would be nibbling before their teeth are come; I think it proper to require an error of the press in No. 20 of this paper, page. #18, line 11, should be corrected, by reading be-fribbled for be-ribbled. Of which kind of chaff there is such plenty mixed with the few grains of understanding produced in this paper, that any pretended volunteer champion for stage tyranny, presumption and imposition, is welcome to winnow it all out, and afterwards take it for the reward of his labour. Such baberdashers of small wares, in writing, are observed to be as void of candour as they are generally found to be of truth. These are alike evident in the criticism I have disabled and the scribbler's denying himself to be what he really is: for the animal is to be known by his utterance.

T H E
H E R A L D,
OR
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

N U M B E R X X V I I .

T H U R S D A Y, M A R C H, 16, 1758.

What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards? POPE.

To the HERALD, &c.

SIR,


OUR observations on the good uses that are made, in other countries, of honorary ensigns and distinctions when bestowed upon and worn by brave men, as adequate rewards for the most eminent services performed by them to their king and country, ought to convince us of the soundness of that policy which contrives gratifications so cheaply satisfactory to serviceable worth; so stimulatory of a military spirit; and such high incentives to the exercise of martial gallantry, and to the hazardous achievements of heroism.

In the glorious ages of *Greece* and *Rome*, when such exterior ornaments as wreaths and garlands were made the certain tokens of interior virtue, or manifested merit, in their wearers, we find no dangers could deter, no difficulties impede, the progress of valour for their acquisition. And being found the constant and sure rewards of illustrious actions, and by no other means whatever to be acquired, every man became worthily ambitious of wearing them for his own glory, and consequently of winning them by achievements the most serviceable and important to his country.

All modern military orders, it must be allowed, derive their institutions from the same animating policy, or excellent source. But *time*, the experienced corrupter of all things, that, in the degenerated ages of old, prostituted to the brows of panders and parasites the rewards of fortitude and valour, has degraded every symbol of honour, in our days, into a mere badge of court favour, civil influence, or even of pecuniary price: so that instead of being considered as the infallible tokens of genuine and exalted worth, and from thence the excitors of grateful veneration towards their wearers, we are apt, at best, but to survey them with eyes of dull indifference, often of contempt, and sometimes of abhorrence; just in proportion as they are considered to be the re-

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wards of mean servility in their wearers, the purchase of dishonourable compliances, or the pay of sacrifices hurtful or dangerous to the community.

This, in our depraved times, candour must acknowledge to be the condition of things of this kind in almost every nation of Europe, except *Prussia*. *France* indeed has the art of making her lower orders acceptable gratuities to brave men for gallant actions. But her highest order of all, which is that of the *Holy Ghost*, they see as frequently prostituted there, as such honours, in general, are in other countries: a practice, however, that the people want not the spirit very frequently to ridicule. I have, myself, seen a *print* that was published on a late promotion of knights to that companionship, which severely exposed the pretensions of some of those who were advanced to it; as for example, behind the figure of a warriour, flourishing a drawn sword, there appeared another, in a civil garb, holding out a scabbard: which represented one whose qualification was that of being related to the royal mistress. So true is the poet's observation, when he says,

Stuck o'er with titles and hung round with strings,
That thou mayst be by kings, or whores of kings.

But it must be observed, that the debasement of dignities which ought to be sacred to an eminence of merit, only serve to make rewards cheap that should be valuable, without conferring honour on such as are the unworthy wearers of them.

That titles and badges of distinction were, in former times, only to be obtained by valuable services in our nation, is a truth that will admit of no controversy. At the first erection of our illustrious order of the *garter*, for instance, and through several succeeding ages, the registers thereof shew that elections to it were invariably made of men not eminent so much for their high rank, as for their great fame in arms: the qualification of birth required being no more than that of a mere gentleman: but the absolutely requisite qualifications were such as the lustre of blood, or the power of great possessions, of themselves, could not give. By those they were entitled to be called or become noble; but to be made *most* noble, required the possession and exertion of great personal virtues and abilities, a glorious display of honour, of conduct, and of magnanimity.

So sacred to true merit, therefore so arduously sought after and so satisfactorily received, were the appellatives of honour in those days, that we find knighthood conferred by the *black prince*, after the battle of *Poictiers*, on the bleeding, and it was feared mortally wounded, Lord *Audley*; though he was at that time a companion of the order of the *garter*? And after the battle of *Agencourt*, we read that *Henry the fifth* conferred the same honour on the expiring Sir *David Cam*, as a gracious consolation to him even in death, and the highest reward he could bestow for so signal a bravery as he had heroically manifested in that memorable action. Nor should I omit mentioning the conduct of our great *Edward the third*, who having but just before knighted his eldest

stood at a distance and saw him fight the famous battle of *Cressy*;

where being told the prince was in danger, and that it was necessary to succour him ; he replied, *no : let my boy earn his spurs. The honour of the day shall be his own.* Thus by encountered hazards and heroic enterprize were military distinctions atchieved of old : which have since been degraded to rewards, in civil life, for buying and selling, for bowing and voting, corrupting and tricking, and all the little arts of base policy that can defile and enfeeble a community.

It was one of the wise maxims of our great Queen Elizabeth not to prostitute the honours she conferred, or to make them cheap; by being too lavish in her bestowal of them. And as she made them the rewards only of the most eminent services, she thereby laudably excited in all her subjects a gallant emulation of performing such actions as entitled them to be distinguished by her favour. In foreign expeditions, she empowered her generals to confer the honour of Knighthood on such as by feats of valour made themselves worthy of receiving it. And military knighthood was such a distinction as a *Raleigh* or a *Drake* then thought a reward suitable to the highest services they could perform. But how was merit levelled and order confounded by the undistinguishing liberality in these and all other matters by her unworthy successor ! *James*, who was the silly dupe of upstart favourites and ambitious minions, suffered his revenues to be squandered to enrich, and his prerogative to be stained to ennable, the most insignificant and worthless of his subjects. Hence such honours were sold to some and given to others as taught merit to neglect and despise them. A satirical remembrancer was even published of the nobility created : and debauchery, effeminacy and servility grew so general and predominant as to discourage and even root out all generous and glorious qualities from the minds and hearts of the people. The state becoming so corrupted and enfeebled at home, and so scorned abroad, as to be a scoff and bye-word among the nations. To all impartial histories of those times I appeal for the verification of what I advance ; as well as to exemplify how soon a relaxation of discipline will unnerve a government, level order, and weaken and debilitate a people.

If we look into the condition of most southern countries, we shall find in them miserable effects of such generating evils. Idleness, beggary, pride ! with a vain assumption or inglorious concession of honours. In Portugal, the order of CHRIST is to be bought for money ; and being hereditary, the ensigns of it are frequently borne by those who ask charity. But though they may beg they must not work with them : and therefore they often illustriously submit to be starved.

In Spain, titles are to be obtained in the same manner, though not the rank and privileges of grandes. I have seen a Marquis of that kingdom who begun life with carrying a box of hard-ware before him, to sell about the streets : and who thought himself so ennobled by his title, that his family can never more condescend to be otherwise, though nothing but what is called the ancient blood of the kingdom can ever effectually entitle any one to that honour.

Italy is full of the same traffic of both kinds; and of such prostitute honours and vain assumptions, that in the very superscriptions of their letters they stile fiddlers and eunuchs most illustrious: while cotonets are to be seen on the seals and moveables even of pimps by profession. To such issues do the levelling of orders in societies proceed. The consequences of which are glaring in the numbers to be found there of proud, idle and worthless beggars and sharpers, with a general debility in states. *Naples*, for example, has three times the natural advantages of *Brandenburg*, and yet perhaps not a thirtieth part of its real strength! which must be attributed, more than to any other cause, to their being a nation of nobility, among whom it is disgraceful to be honestly industrious, but none at all to beg, cheat or thief. And if by any of the latter means they can but acquire money, they may purchase titles and honours without enduring any painful toils or exposing themselves to imminent hazards for acquiring them by real merit. It may be an object worthy of our national attention, to consider how far we have a tendency to the taking of such a turn: and to what a degree money, even acquired by the basest and most infamous means, is levelling and superseding the rights of true dignity, and the claims of genuine worth.

When states are vigorous and fairly flourishing (not as ours is supposed to be, from false maxims and counterfeit wealth, ill distributed) honorary distinctions are made to be well earned before they are worn, and therefore are conferred with as much dignity by princes as they are enjoyed by the acquirers of them. In the histories of most modern nations, instances are to be met with of Knights who considered, and pleaded, the lustre of their orders, as a bar to their permitting even the shadow of a reproach to rest upon them. But if their fame became once notoriously sullied, and their military reputation in particular, they were not permitted to pass unstigmatized, but became renounced by their fellows, and degraded from their brotherhoods. Their spurs were hacked off, their ensigns taken away, and even their very escutcheons disgracefully marked. A desertion of station, inaction on duty, disobedience of command, or a glaring imbecility of attempt, were the causes judged sufficient for their encountering of such disgraces in a military way. And for a part of them, at least, any very scandalous breaches of honour in the consequential concerns of civil life. But as, of late, the want of due qualifications for entitling men to receive honours have been too much dispensed with, so the laws for inflicting punishments on such as stained them in possession have become equally neglected and rendered impotent. Melancholy proofs alike of the increasing degeneracy of spirit and of principles: sure tokens of corrupting and enfeebling states, and certain prognostications of national ruin. A government, to be strong, should be admired for its rewards and respected for its punishments. When favours are ill bestowed and abuses seen that cannot, or dare not, be corrected, power will become despised, patriotism baffled, nay ridiculed, and a constitution disjointed, annihilated and lost.

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. By exact discipline, and right regulations in civil as well as military government, we see to what a high pitch of power and increasing prosperity the great king of *Prussia* has raised a naturally inconsiderable state. . Nor are his maxims of government and rules of conduct mysteriously deep or intricately refined; but, on the contrary, few, simple, and obvious: adopted with prudence and with steadiness applied. His laws are no more wise precepts, than his own life is a shining example to all. By honouring worth only, he makes men emulous of distinguishing themselves by worthy actions. By discountenancing folly and guilt, he influences his people to sobriety, and awes them from turpitude. He seriously applies himself to business, and by encouraging the sciences and arts promotes universal industry. He is an economist in his expences, and by restraining the spirit of rapine among his people enables life to be comfortably enjoyed with but little. He is convinced that populousness increases strength, and therefore he promotes commerce and manufactures, as the best means for the increase and existence of his subjects. He knows prosperity depends upon the constant use as well as security of property, and therefore he has purged from all abuses the administration of his laws. He is sensible that indulged profusion tends but to debauch the high and oppress the low, to the hurt of both; and therefore he suffers not his ministers and servants to be guilty of it. He knows that happiness and use must be the result of a good conduct, and therefore he is the restrainer of idle amusements and insatiate pleasures. He perceives a remissness of inspection, encourages abuses; and that trusts of power are temptations to oppression. All, therefore, have free access to him, and are sure to find their reasonable complaints attended to, and their real injuries immediately redressed: With regard to foreign states he makes it his invariable practice to do no injuries to others, nor suffer any to be done to himself or his subjects. His talents for negotiation and genius for arms are indeed the peculiar gifts of Heaven. But the goodness of his troops is to be attributed to the discipline he has established, the incitements he has made happily influential, and to the great examples he personally gives of activity, intrepidity and fortitude: qualities that in a leader never fail of having their full effects, when a proper regard accompanies them in the distribution of punishments and rewards. Thus is the admired *Frederick* a glorious hero and patriot king, from principles and practices less refined than good; and indeed from little more than what is in the power of all princes to exert: which are upright intentions and an assiduous application to business.

His new instituted order of *merit*, from a worthy bestowal of it, he wisely makes to answer the highest and most serviceable purposes. By this he has created an universal emulation in his troops, and, to himself, an inexhaustible power of gratifying those who do well. Nor is the reward less solid to the acquirers of it, than any other whatever that they could receive. The acquisitions of riches are as unsatisfactory as the passion that pursues them is insatiable. The ambition, therefore, that can be easiest and fullest gratified is undoubtedly the most laudable

and happy to be indulged: and what higher blessings can any man propose, with wisdom, to aim at, than private contentment and public approbation? These are obtained by the mere means to live and the consciousness of bearing about with them the tokens of authenticated worth; and of their living in the observation and with the approbation of their prince, and of mankind.

Nor is this act of true policy an invention of our modern hero's: it but what he has learned from others; and all his merit, therein, lies in his wisely adopting and applying it to his own and his people's advantages. The examples I have drawn from ancient and modern nations, show what great and good purposes have been answered by such institutions. Almost all our individual happiness depends upon opinion. And those, then, are sure the most worthy of promotion that have a tendency, along with our own, to promote the bliss and prosperity of the communities we are members of.

I most heartily wish, therefore, to see an institution of a like kind take place in my own country, which should be purely military, and kept entirely sacred to good service in the army and marine. The ensigns of it need be no other than a device hung pendant by a ribbon at the breast, or at a button-hole of the coat, like the order of *Malta*, the *golden fleece* in *Spain*, of *CHRIST* in *Portugal*, and many others. And there might be express services that should entitle officers to receive it: such as the commanding officer, for example, of a king's ship that took another of equal or greater force; and other actions in land and sea employment that might be judged worthy of so distinguishing the doers of them. The stile of honourable, with the title of Sir, might likewise be annexed to this order of knighthood, and also some mark of distinction be allowed them in their armorial bearings. But their fees of creation should be very small, and the rank given them should be as high as can with convenience be admitted.

An order thus instituted, and well preserved, might contribute more than any other means to the advancement of the military and marine studies, and the stimulating of a manly and martial spirit among our officers; which at present is universally allowed to be too much wanting. I see no reason why an institution of this kind cannot be made illustrious enough to have its ensigns worn in common even with those of the *Garter* itself: For while they are made the badges of true personal merit, they will be expressive of a value that few honorary distinctions at present, among us, can give.

I am more emboldened to the making of this proposal, by having desired many officers of some eminence, especially in the sea service, express their wishes for seeing such an order erected. However, if means are not contrived effectually to keep it from prostitution, it may, own, be made productive of mischief instead of good. It must be made a reward sacred to fighters: for if voters once get it among them, will be no longer a badge of honour, but sink, with faith, conscience and forbearance, into nothing better than a name.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

C U R T I S

T H E
H E R A L D,
O R
Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

N U M B E R XXVIII.

T H U R S D A Y, M A R C H, 23, 1758.

He, who to seem more deep than you or I,
Extols old bards, or Merlin's prophecy,
Mistake him not ; he envies not admires,
And to debase the sons, exalts the fires.
Had ancient times conspired to disallow
What then was new, what had been ancient now ?
Or what remain'd, so worthy to be read
By learned critics, of the mighty dead ?

POPE.

To the H E R A L D, &c.

S I R,

H E N I sent you the letters on *Roscivus*, I judged their publication would irritate the parties whose impositions and abuses they detected : such must be expected to prove the effects of pressing hard on the sores of consciousness and sensibility ; for in this case the mind exactly resembles the body ; what is sound will bear a free handling : but the applicable old adage says, very truly, *touch a galled horse and be winces*.

As I expected would be the case, *Fribble* is, I find, got to a *ho-peep* tilting. But while he is fighting behind the phantom of a *volunteer*, by his over-cautious affecting to make known who he is not, he unluckily discovers who he really is.

Whoever might be the author of those letters which you handed to the press, whether a discarded actor or rejected poet, is, as I conceive, nothing to the public ; nor will, or should, any such suppositions avail *Roscivus* or his adherents in the discussion of points that observation and reason can qualify mankind with impartiality and certainty to decide upon.

That managers of theatres are sometimes obliged to deal or (as I think Mr. *Volunteer* might with more propriety have said) treat with persons of the lowest abilities, is granted. But why all people whom they are pleased to misdeal with, or mis-treat, should be stigmatized by our blind acquiescence to self-interested determination, is a point

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that both candour and humanity will dispute. Yet it is decently asserted, *that whenever he (THE MIGHTY HE) treats these men with the CONTEMPT they DESERVE, that then the town is to be informed that our modern Roscius is destitute of every theatrical accomplishment, and dead to every moral virtue.* What a stealing is this from particular accusation by general evasion! for I appeal to my letters, in proof, that if I pointed out some imperfections (and many more I can and intend to point out) in his theatrical performances (which all who will may see, and shall be shewn wilfully blind not to allow) I certainly did his stage-talents the utmost justice in declaring that he is, notwithstanding, the first actor of the times. But our pigmy, it appears, cannot be contented without being exalted in stilts, and made such a giant as to be enabled to stalk over all kinds of competitorship, and become as univalued in reputation as we behold him in theatrical profit.

As for his moral virtues, I submit to the decision of candour if I did not leave them as sacredly untouched as I found them, having represented him in want of no private ones, nor any of a public nature that the world has for a long time, if ever, supposed him to be in the possession of. But if a partial regard to his own interest so far dazzles his understanding as to influence his believing that he has a right to discourage, discountenance or suppress genius, for the unbounded gratification of his own pecuniary appetite, it is high time he should be undeceived in that point; and therefore I beg leave, in behalf of merit and the public, to represent and insist that it is his duty to cherish and forward writers of talents, nay even of promise, as the nation is interested in his so doing: and all failures therein, the people have a right to resent, nay even to revenge in so signal a manner as that of getting him deprived of the power he should be so daring as to give manifest tokens of abusing.

It is but too obvious that the orders of society have been suffered, in many situations, to be reversed, nay even to be uprooted from among us. Of this truth undeniable instances might be given in many important concerns of a public nature. But as it is beside my purpose, at present, to examine any cases of this kind but that of authors and actors, I shall proceed to a free discussion of theirs, let who will, and to what degree soever, be offended.

All merits of the actor, it must be allowed, are local and temporary, while those of the author are universal and immortal. In these lights great and good men, glorious ages and wise governments, have always beheld them, and judged of them: the latter as contributing highly to the service of societies and the honour of nations, and the former, only as occasionally to their amusement or diversion. And I appeal to the legal regulations of those extinguished, as well as of all existing states, for the illustration and support of my argument. Even in our own country, to go no farther back than the traces of certainty will carry us, I leave to fact and sober judgment to decide, in how superior a light to that of actors the dramatic poets even of the very last age appeared. Dryden, Addison, Rowe, Congreve, Steele, Vanbrugh, ~~Hudibras~~, Gay, Fenton

Fenton and many others, undeniably figured in their time, as far above actors in rank and esteem, as they at present do in fame. But such is the altered state of things, in our days, that it will be found, on talking with one manager, that he considers all living authors to be ignorant, presumptuous and despicable creatures; while another arrogantly treats them as dependants and hangers on; may draw characters of them for the stage, as ragged, shoe-less mendicants, and writes letters for them, dated from Moor-fields, full of abject representations of their vile condition, and of his own glory and conscious pre-eminence. These are facts to which I rivet the present argument: and for notorious proofs, in support of my own, I appeal to the first exhibition of *Letsbe*, and to a letter published last year of *abuse*, as it was called, to Squire G———.

As these truths are undeniable, who can fairly blame the resentment of authors in a cause no more theirs than it is that of mankind? And why should public opinion be blindly biased by, or acquiesced in, the determinations of self-interested men, to the reproach and injury of others more respectable and important, and be so tamely yielded up to the prepossessions that cunning has established and imposture avails itself of, even so far as to sink all the claims of superior merit in the unbounded pretensions and arbitrary assumptions of that which is inferior? Yet such has become the case to a daring and even to a dangerous degree; dangerous, I mean to literature and genius, and consequently, if not to the prosperity, at least to the reputation of the age. This is a tyranny established by the act for restraining the number of play-houses, hurtful alike to unpatented actors and authors, though perhaps not quite in an equal degree; and which, with regard to the latter, having been put too successfully strengthened by a licentiousness of ridicule on one side, is sure highly deserving of resentment on the other.

Had the power that limited the right of making theatrical exhibitions to the possessors of two patents, prescribed any terms for the encouragement of writers and security of actors, by submitting their claims and pretensions to disinterested persons, the injustice might have been prevented, that all are now obviously exposed to encounter. But as things stand, there is a monopoly made that may be as tyrannical and oppressive as it pleases. And who is there that is so wanting of a due knowledge of the human heart, as not to be aware of the disposition of man to abuse a power that can be exercised, at the expence of general, to partial advantage? How far this has been the case, the public, I am afraid, has not been sufficiently made sensible of even by this frequent appeals to them, of actors and authors, and particularly the latter; who, if men of delicacy, have undoubtedly preferred suffering in silence to the disagreeable office of openly prosecuting justice. Hence have the unproportioned importance of a player and the profits of a pantomime been extended: And hence has an immeasurable gain been made by one man, from an affected veneration for dead authors, while the living have been discouraged, disengaged, insulted and starved.

Let any age, prior to the present, be fairly examined, and I am persuaded it will appear that five new plays were produced in it, for one

one that is exhibited in ours. And yet says this pretended VOLUNTEER, *I think it evident that too many offered pieces have been acted.* And pray for why, but that because he thinks they were not all of the first rank for excellence? But has it been otherwise with those that he (I say *he*) has thought proper to revive? How many of those have been hooted, hissed, neglected and despised? And yet he assiduously proceeds in imposing them upon the public, for no other reason but because he pockets up, therefrom, extraordinary profits to himself; for he is too well known to be supposed to miss the advantage of any claim to peculiar gain, and therefore, besides what allowances he can get from the stage, he enjoys the rewards of alterer, or editor for the press. Are not these forcible instigations to his oppressing and ridiculing of living authors; and to his high, pious and manifested reverence for the dead? Does he not thereby magnify his own figure as well as his income? And who then can be so blind as to mistake the motives to his proceedings?

But ought we to judge of the merits of rejected pieces, either by those he exhibits, or by the generality of such as are printed by their authoress, as refused performances? I take the liberty to think not; and shall offer my reasons for that opinion. With regard to the first, I can say the town does believe that no play is now brought on the stage, at either house, but by the mere influence of irresistible recommendation; which is as likely to be obtained for the worst as for the best that can be written. And for the reasonableness of my opinion, I first appeal to the managers of both houses themselves, if this was not expressly the case with respect both to *Douglas* and *Agis*; and secondly, to the same persons, if they have not rejected a much better play than either of them, whose author disdained to employ a like means, and which, if he had endeavoured for, it is not to be doubted but that he might have obtained: as he is not only a writer of name, but a man in such circumstances, that he offered to take the hazard of the theatre upon himself, for nine nights; and being refused it, to my certain knowledge, at one house, I take for granted he was at both, as at both the play has been rejected: though *Roscius* himself, fifteen years ago, openly declared it to be an excellent one. But he was not at that time a *patentee*, and therefore had not the strong bias on his mind for revived pieces in preference to new ones, which he has now the power to exhibit so abundantly to his own advantage.

As for the plays that have been printed without acting; it may be said that none of them were written by authors of any name, except one; and even he was at that time unknown for a dramatic genius: nay, has perhaps since found that it is not very highly his talent. But without discussing the merits of that performance, or pretending to defend it in all points, I will venture to affirm that several new pieces, which were much worse, have been since exhibited at either house; nay a still greater number of far inferior old plays have been revived, and many of both kinds with considerable success. The truth is, that men who have a regard for reputation, or a consciousness of merit, will be cautious

tious of publishing pieces under the stigmatizing circumstances of being rejected; and therefore it may be supposed that the worst only are likely to appear in such a light. Let not *Roscius*, then, have the confidence to shelter himself any longer under such a plea, which he wants not the cunning to know is disingenuous, nor I the courage to pronounce is dishonest. If he will shew himself worthy of public approbation in this trust, and not deserving of national indignation and resentment, let him submit the decision to able and impartial judges: especially as, in evidence of his fallibility in this point, the decided unworthiness of so many of his revived plays may be unanswerably pleaded against him.

But as a proof that I am not mistaken in the author I am now answering, he is particularly spleenetic with regard to one piece and its writer, whom I hold myself not interested to defend. Yet I must observe that the public, and even he, himself, formerly, thought otherwise of that performance than he affects now to do: so that, I fear, he has some bad reasons for this open alteration of opinion. Whether that play would draw another audience or not, it is impossible to decide, unless the experiment should be made; and that I believe *Roscius* has his motives for not doing; the principal of which, I apprehend, is, not a fear that it should not draw audiences, but that it should. What success he formerly met with in acting a principal character therein, I take not upon myself to determine: but I will venture to assert, that another eminent actor will not hesitate to pronounce that he acquired reputation by acting a part in it: and I believe the town in general thought as well of it as of any new piece that *Roscius* has exhibited since he became a manager. But I have shewn, in another man's case, how strangely and how strongly our theatrical *Sultan* can alter his imperial notions and declarations. However, should he make the trial, and discover that in this point he thinks rightly, the fortune of the piece would not prove singular, as he has, this very season, revived a play of another author's which did not so much as once fill his house.

He plumes himself highly upon his alteration of the *Fatal Marriage*, which, solely from Mrs. Cibber's excellent performance in it, has indeed proved successful; his own, therein, being as indifferent as the meanest actor's upon the stage. But let him not attribute to the efforts of his own genius any portion of the satisfaction that it gave: for, had I room to comment upon his poetical merit therein, I have scope enough for severe reprobations on both what he did and what he omitted to do. *Southern* had undoubtedly great powers for touching the passions; and therefore his blemishes require an abler hand than that of our mighty *Roscius* himself for their correction.

Mr. *Volunteer* shews himself, in many parts of his epistle, highly interested in supporting the fashionable, I had almost said lucrative, practice of revivals: for which purpose he particularizes many parts and authors that he much wishes to see justice done to, and therefore more *gamesters* and *Dioclesians* may be expected next year, we find, for the entertainment and honour of the age. But it does not appear that he

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can encourage any hopes of new productions that will be acceptable, notwithstanding what we have seen with respect to *Agis*. How happy was it, for themselves and the world, that *Dryden*, *Osway* and even *Shakespear* lived in other ages, whose first works would have effectually damned them in this; especially as they had the misfortune to be born *Englishmen*. But, as they are now become ancients to us, not only they, but even the poorest of their cotemporaries are to be adored, to the reproach and infamy of our modern days, which can produce nothing but a *Roscus* that is worthy of encouragement or reward.

And to be sure the town, as it ought to do, will continue to consider him as singly meritorious of all profit and all praise. They will allow his judgment beyond appeal, and his disinterested endeavours to please them irreproachable. They will admire what he approves, and contentedly pay for what he is pleased to favour them with: for he, and he only, can be deserving of their regard.

Though I have not done with my subject, I shall, at present, conclude with observing, that the *Volunteer* champion has, I believe, more wilfully than ignorantly mistaken the plan of your publications. In your introductory paper, you declared your design not particular but general, and as calculated for the correction of all kinds of abuses: among which those of the stage are surely of a public nature. And, therefore, you in no sort deviated from your scheme in giving place to the observations you presented to your readers from,

Sir, your humble servant,

S E V E R U S.

H E R A L D,

OR

Patriot-Proclaimer.

By STENTOR TELL-TRUTH, Esq.

NUMBER XXIX.

THURSDAY, MARCH, 30, 1758.

would fain persuade the poor, the injured, the distressed people, to be no longer the dupes and property of hypocrites and traitors. But very few can share the wages of iniquity, and all the rest must suffer: the people's interest is the public interest; it signifies the same thing: whatever these betrayers of their country get, the people must lose; and what is worse, must lose a great deal, more than the others can get; for such conspiracies and extortions cannot be successfully carried on, without destroying or injuring trade, perverting justice, corrupting the guardians of the public liberty, and the almost total dissolution of the principles of government.

TRENCHARD.

E have not only from the authority of that great and good man from whose writings I have taken my motto; but also from many others, the information, that so lately as in the reign of Queen Anne, a judge, of the highest rank told his brother courtiers, upon their detecting him in a dirty dealing, which had given him ten thousand pounds, that *it was worth no man's time to serve a party, unless he could now and then get good jobs by it.* How dangerous the services of a judge to a party will prove to the constitutional security of a people, may be guessed at by examining the conduct of the renowned Jefferies: for that great Lord and learned interpreter of the laws, doubtless did not strain them to oppress, plunder by unwarrantable fines, and, in what he called the defence of regal prerogative, sentence eminent and innocent men even to death, with the assistance of *awed* or *packed juries*, without seeking and receiving such rewards. Few men will expose themselves to universal obloquy and hatred, from being made the instruments of cruelty and oppression, without being stimulated thereto by pecuniary advantages to themselves, to be made by one method or another: of means for which kind of gratifications, ministers take care to secure to themselves good stores: and of those, the gentlest in bestowal, are shares of public *jobs*, under cover of their names who have become so callous in mind as neither to feel curses or fear scandal; or by having the means of making private ones put into their own power: when they carve out for themselves

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according to the measures of their own moderation, as was the case of the wolf in sheep's cloathing, whom, in but a single article of blood-sucking, I have now instanced.

Whenever, therefore, a judge is found straining of points for partial purposes, we may assure ourselves that he is selling law openly for a secret price; and it then behoves a whole people, for their common safety, at once to unite themselves against him. Secret treachery is more dangerous to a community than open violence: from a blow of the latter a people may recover; but with the sappings of the former they sink and are destroyed.

Conspiracies for plunder are as unbounded in their operations as they are ruinous in their effects. The same worthy author observes, that "one great man, who gets an hundred thousand pounds by cheating the public, must wink and connive at ten others who shall wrong it of ten thousand pounds each; and then of ten times as many more, who shall defraud it of one thousand; and so on in lesser progression, till the greatest part of the public revenue is swallowed and devoured by great and little plunderers. It is therefore (continues he) of the utmost importance to the security and happiness of any state, to punish in the most exemplary manner, all those who are intrusted by it, and betray that trust: it becomes the wisdom of a nation, to give ten thousand pounds to purchase a head, which cheats it of sixpence. *Valerius Maximus* (says he) calls severity the sure preserver and avenger of liberty: it is as necessary for the preventing of tyranny as for the support of it. After the death of the sons of *Brutus*, executed by the command of their own father, and in his presence, we hear no more of any conspirators in *Rome*, to restore the *Tarquins*; and had *Marius*, *Cæsar*, and other corruptors of the people, met with the same punishment, that glorious commonwealth might have subsisted to this day. Lenity to great crimes is an invitation to greater; whereas the despair of pardon, for the most part, makes pardon useless. If no mercy were shewn to the enemies of the state, no state would be overturned; and if small or no punishment be inflicted upon them, no state can be safe."

Could a legislator and patriot, like Mr. *Trenchard*, by his voice in the senate and pen from the press, have restrained the rising floods of corruption, which have since deluged and almost drowned our constitution and country, common sense would not have been violated by such paradoxes as we see offered to be now palmed upon us for rational policy, by such as assert that government is strengthened by a corruption that has even tasked the abilities of faction to extend, while it devoured revenues that have been made so enormous as to disanimate and depress industry, and served to introduce so general a spirit of rapine as appears destroying the principles of a whole people. What the practices of power and office, therein, are now, let who will determine. But what they have been, I will fearlessly tell: and what a continuance of such must end in, every man that has common penetration may foresee, or that.

that has common honesty will declare, can be no other than either slavery or confusion.

Mr. Trenchard, who died towards the latter end of the last reign, very strongly and justly represented the fatal turn our national affairs were taking at that time. What his sentiments were concerning bribery, rapacity, standing armies and national debts, are to be abundantly seen in his works; and all observation, since, on the effects of the extension of those evils, will convince every unprejudiced mind that they are disease which must be conquered, or else they will infallibly conquer our political constitution, and that very speedily.

A man who requires the connivance of others at his own iniquities, can expect to find it on no other conditions than a reciprocal connivance theirs. And, therefore, it has not been a matter for wonder to speculative men to see extortionate fees winked at, in subalterns, and immense embezzlements covered by superiors; while inferiors were prevailed upon to shut their eyes to the misapplications of monies, to fraudulent bargains, and fictitious accounts. Hence have the clerks of offices and dock-yards, with salaries of forty or fifty pounds *per annum*, been seen to live at the rate of five hundred or a thousand pounds a year, while higher officers and commissioners have even out-spent estates gentry and nobility, even at the same time that they were buying them out of their inheritances. This by inattentive readers may be called indiscriminate slander; yet observation or information should convince every man it is a truth obvious enough for the easiest and fullest conviction. What wonder is it, then, that we see estates neglected for the sake of acquiring posts, and that industrious and creditable callings are beheld scorned or forsaken for the meanest of government employments.

The time has been when no vessel, not the very smallest employed in the coasting service, could be accepted, even on pressing emergencies, before an upper clerk, or a secretary, had been fee'd, at the rate perhaps of from *seven to ten per cent.* on the sum to be earned; which was really no other than adding just so much to the expence that the nation need fairly to have been put to: for to suppose otherwise would be supposing that bargainers are fools, that men will deal to their own loss, or contentedly work for nothing. When this fee has secured the vessel's being taken up, then the business falls to the care of another, or more, that direct or superintend her loading; who have it in their power to create difficulties and embarrassments that are to be only obviated, removed or eased, by another tax or gratuity. The same may perhaps attend the unloading, and afterwards the passing of certificates, and the recovery of the money: for all of which allowance must be made in the adjustments of price, and has often, perhaps, made the charge to the nation one fourth part more than it need to have been. An equal plunder in levies or embezzlements have constituted the perquisites in other various departments of business, which have been complained of by all who have had any thing to do with offices, and been frequently exposed in both a serious and ludicrous manner.

manner. What immense sums of public money are sunk in the fees of one revenue office has been shewn by me in a former paper, and what frauds have been committed in contracts and bargains, hinted at: all of which are combinations of high and low for plunder of the people, by making the charge of government immensely and unreasonably burthensome. And can any man suppose that the abuses and extortions of subordinates are winked at and encouraged by superiors, without their largely sharing in the fruits of them, or having proportionate iniquities to shelter? Vain, surely, should be thought the imaginations of those who undertake to give such appearances any other interpretations.

Our charge of government therefore, it must be allowed, has been made immoderately and iniquitously great: so much so, that inheritances which were deemed handsome in the last century, scarce give their owners incomes sufficient for a subsistence at present: while the laborious are so pinched that they have hardly the means for sustaining life in their power. A poor handicraftsman, for example, who earns half a crown a day by his labour, and is in constant work, in the metropolis, may be said to earn more than any man in the same condition can do in any other country of the world. And yet if this man has a wife and five or six children (which every country should encourage him to have and enable him by his industry to support) let that income be fairly estimated, and it will be found inadequate to the sustaining of them with any degree of comfort. The least accident therefore makes them become immediately burthensome to the community. Hence are our parish taxes all over the kingdom encreased to rates almost double of what they were at fifty years ago, and hence are hospitals and workhouses continually erecting, and yet not sufficient for the numbers of miserable objects that are eternally applying for relief. And hence are the numbers of our people decreasing, from the discouragements to matrimony that charges in humble, and luxury in higher life occasion. And what, pray, are the prospects that are now before us, with regard to matters so extremely interesting and important?

And yet ignorance and inattention cry out, there never was such riches in the nation as at present! in some parts of it, indeed, there is such a shew; but it is, except with respect to a few particulars, nothing but a shew, as I hope I have demonstrated in some former remarks: for all our paper wealth, on which so many families are now making a figure, is to be considered as no other than mortgage bonds upon our land and labour, for which we at present strain hard to pay the interest: but which, with a farther increase of it, or any considerable decline of our foreign commerce, (and that is already giving way in favour of other nations, who can and do supply markets in many articles thereof much cheaper than ourselves) must either dispossess the holders of solid property, or lose its own value; for it is actually no other than mortgage money artificially created, and of such a species as to have no intrinsic value. These are truths, glaring and

and undeniable, that discover the dangerous situation of our country. And thus is the charge of government eating away our strength, and destroying all our resources from foreign commerce, which must every way debilitate us, and will inevitably involve us in bankruptcy; and what the unhappy consequences thereof may prove, there is no man can pretend to foretell.

The last evil of conspiring abuse and imposition which I have to consider, is that of corrupting the guardians of public liberty. And sure, since Mr. Trenchard's time, the means of doing this have been enormously increased. Almost every tax that has been created, (and how alarming their number is, let any one examine and determine) has furnished occasions for the erecting of new offices and employments, with new jobs and emoluments of every kind. The very army has almost doubled its dependencies of those days: and every method that could be taken, has been used, to multiply them in every other manner. What the opinion, then, of the people thereon should be, let every one determine from common sense.

I thank God that we have such an opinion of our sovereign, his ministers and our representatives, at present, as permits us not to harbour a suspicion of danger. But surely a greatly increasing debt and augmenting army, should make us, with good reason, tremble for posterity. For is it not obvious to conception that administrations of government may hereafter be formed, who by dint of employments and other pecuniary gratifications, shall secure to themselves a majority of votes among the representatives of the people, and thereby a power to oppress the people by levies and encumber them by debts, till, made hopeless and desperate, they provoke them to a resistance, which they will then make the wicked pretence for depriving them, by a standing army, of their liberties? This is indeed a degree of wickedness that innocent men are perhaps too apt to believe their fellow subjects incapable of arriving at. And yet it is what has been experienced in all the kingdoms around us, that have been successively subjected to arbitrary power; and has many times brought even our own constitution into imminent hazard. Can any man with the least colour of reason suppose that if Charles the first had been master of ten thousand mercenary forces, when he began to quarrel with his parliament, that he might not have securely trampled upon the privileges of the nation? And is it not well known that Charles the second meditated the making of himself absolute by means of an army of but six thousand, and probably would have done it but for the honour of the duke of Schomberg, who was a foreigner? And bad as these schemes and many others have been in Kings, has it not always appeared that they could find ministers wicked and daring enough to second them in their endeavours? And therefore we may depend they always will be able to find such, whenever they are disposed to prosecute such undertakings.

But we have not only to fear the ambition of future Kings, but the rapacity also of future factions, who may, for their own advantages, support maxims of government, that may alike endanger the public safety

safety and their own heads; when, it is to be feared, for the security of the latter they will be ready to sacrifice the former. As, for example, should the present and too long adopted policy of mortgaging be pursued till the nation is so weakened as to sink under the load, or obliged to throw it off: when public credit is cracked, and public dividends begin to fail, will they not create such ferment among the people and such perils to ministers, that personal safety may make the latter strive to shelter themselves under the power of extended prerogative, and induce them to endeavour making the crown absolute, at all events, rather than hazard the vengeance of an exasperated community? This appears to me, and I think it must to every man, a natural consequence and sure effect of causes rooted in the false policy of the last age; but what time to happen, has perhaps been thought immaterial to consider.

Yet that such an event has been constantly foreseen and regularly prepared for, may with certainty be pronounced from the gradual encrease of a standing military force, in proportion, as it were, with our augmented encumbrances, or, in other words our constitutional dangers: for the doing of which, all the pleas that possibly could, have been endeavoured to be made specious, and therein every power of sophistry exercised, and every species of artifice exhausted. The encrease, therefore, of our standing army, along with the evils that made the use of it necessary, has been clearly seen and acknowledged to be a disease that must prove mortal to our constitution in the end. The only remedy against which, that can prove effectual, the voice of the public has of late prescribed, and some patriot ministers, to their great honour, have endeavoured to apply: which is a well regulated militia; an establishment on which our safety must hereafter depend.

But the aggrieved people have a right to farther concessions, and principally exemptions from the plunderings of the adjuncts of power; who have been fleecing without bounds, and fleing without mercy. A thorough examination, therefore, into the abuses of office and applications of public monies, they have good reason to require; that while they chearfully contribute to the honourable support of government and exigencies of state, they may not be devoured by those whom they sustain, sold by those whom they trust, or plundered by those whom they pay. Vain will be found the terrors of penal laws where injuries or necessities provoke desperation: and which if not cautionarily prevented or seasonably removed, the people have a right (and it is to hoped will use it) to unite by legal methods for the enforcing of redress.



